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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

GARDENERS' FOOD SUPPLY--All over the GDR, more than 1.3 million small gardeners, settlers, and keepers of small domestic animals are helping supply the people with fruit, vegetables, poultry, rabbit meat, wool, and many other things. Beyond their own need, they will supply the market with 190,000 tons of fruit and 165,000 tons of vegetables this year. Apart from that, they provide for 1.7 billion eggs per year. These figures have considerably risen over the last 5 years. There was a 75 percent increase in fruit, for example. Produce is bought on a regular basis so as to offer fresh goods in stores. By 1990, another 150,000 small garden facilities will be created. [Excerpts] [East Berlin Television Service in German 1730 GMT 19 Aug 86 DW]

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

RESULT OF NEW INCOME REGULATION SYSTEM VIEWED AFTER ONE YEAR

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET In Hungarian 21 July 86 p 3

[Text] Specialists at the State Wage and Labor Affairs Office have reviewed the first year's experiences with the operation of the new, modernized income regulation system. Given the goal of linking increased earnings more effectively to enterprise achievements, the modification was introduced in the entire economy after a year's experimentation with a limited number of enterprises.

At enterprises where, according to the new regulations, the development of earnings was tied much more closely than formerly to enterprise results, the higher than average achievements of the workers were paid better than in recent years. The average earnings of workers increased by 9 percent in 1985 as compared to former years at enterprises operating in the so-called competitive sphere to which almost 60 percent of the enterprises belonged and a little more than one-half of the workers. This also included an 11 percent increase in average earnings at economic units that achieved a higher than average profit.

The 1985 rate of increase in average earnings also approached that of enterprises working under competitive conditions in the regulation category where income development is less closely linked to results. Thus average earnings for last year in the socialist sector rose as a whole by 8.7 percent. Such a growth of personal income may be regarded as well-based only in respect to the rising profits of the enterprise. While enterprise profits as a whole rose last year by 5.7 percent, the most important [projected] economic indicators, as is well known, were not fully realized. The rate of growth in production, export and national income lagged behind enterprise results, and therefore it was not economically positive achievements that were expressed in the increasing profits as a whole.

From the viewpoint of future development, a large number of enterprises devoted disproportionally large sums to increased incomes, and a much smaller than the justified ratio to establishing a foundation for profitability in the coming years by investing in the modernization of manufacturing. These increased incomes also successfully helped the efforts of the enterprises to keep their workers, and with the reduction in manpower migration, they guaranteed themselves the personnel required for the performance of their

tasks. However, the original intent of the regulation was to stimulate the enterprises to manage their manpower more economically and employ their workers more efficiently.

These undesirable regulatory effects made ad hoc interventions necessary last year, and since similar phenomena were also evident at the beginning of the current year, measures were also taken in midyear to stimulate improvement in enterprise management and employment.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

COSTS, BENEFITS OF STAGING FORMULA 1 RUNNING

Budapest HETIVILAGAZDASAG in Hungarian 2 Aug 86 pp 52-53

[Article by Maria Lakatos]

[Text] We were surprised to learn that tickets for Formula-1 are on sale again. As sales show there is not such great interest in the car-race abroad as it was expected. The Formula-1 "circus" starts at the Hungaroring in a week. The construction of the race-track--which created a great stir at the time--was finished on time but this does not guarantee that the enterprise will be profit-making. Ticket-sales reflect that tourism is not quite "booming" and even more experienced organisers are taken by surprise. In July 200,000 viewers were interested in the Formula-1 in England, Brand Hatch but in Spain, Jerez, only 6,000 ticket-holders were registered.

Tickets have been on sale again for two weeks now for the Budapest Grand Prix to be held between 8th and 10th August. In spring nobody thought that there would be available tickets for the Sunday round--for Hungarian forints. Until the end of April 57,000 tickets were sold for the Friday training, 75,000 for the Saturday training and 116,000 tickets for the Sunday round in Hungary and the socialist countries. These tickets were sold to the value of 84 million forints. As there was great demand for more tickets, the stands were expanded and now there are 4,000 more seats and 40,000 more standing places--said Sandor Petho, manager of the economic society.

The economic society established to build Hungaroring and organise the race needs each and every forint which is quite understandable. During the seven months of construction costs significantly increased. As against the original 200-240 million forints the construction of the 4-kilometre-track with 19 curves cost 340 million forints. /The Hungarian Post also invested some money and the necessary infrastructure for broadcasting the event had to be established too. Including these costs nearly half a thousand million forints have been invested./

The members of the economic society invested 11 million forints each and the State Development Bank granted another 170 million forints credit. The increase of the costs of the construction was covered by the six companies who joined the economic society during the construction. They are supposed to pay back 8.6 million forints soon and half of the net profit will be paid to the

State Development Bank as well. The costs of organisation will also increase the total costs, another 40 million forints which includes the organisation costs of the Peace-Friendship Cup too. As Tibor Balogh, general secretary of the Hungarian Car Club, said they would come off well even after the incredibly expensive first round. "Approximately 7-8 million forints profit will still remain with the organisers and then next year the organisation of Grand Prix will be much less expensive."

Calculating in forints the enterprise will be profitable right in the first year even considering the above data. The arguments about the construction of the race-track made the race even more popular in Hungary. However, it is rather unlikely that the 900,000 dollars which the organisers had to pay in accordance with the contract made with FOCA will be fully recovered. The money charged for advertisements will belong to the international organisation. Furthermore, the Hungarian party will not get any money for television-transmission either. The sum charged for broadcasting is just symbolic, less than 1,000 dollars so that as many television companies broadcast the race as possible. The real business is advertisement. Usually about 700 million people watch the car-race. Cigarette- and car-producers are prepared to pay any price to advertise their products at the Formula-1 car-races. In this business usually there is not much talk about incomes but the organisers of the Zeltwegrally made 140 million schillings and FOCA received another 30 million but of course their expenses were much lower. At Hungaroring the FOCA charge 18,500 dollars for each and every 2-metre-high and 10-metre-long poster advertising the product of a company.

We cannot speak about millions of dollars. The economic society can get hold of the 900,000 dollars to be paid to the FOCA by selling tickets abroad. Tickets are sold for 30-80 dollars which is relatively cheap as a three-day-pass to the Formula-1 race in Austria to be held on 17 August costs 150 dollars. According to the estimates of the National Tourist Office there will be about ten thousand tourists paying in hard currency. This is half of the planned figure and it is possible that the economic society will not be able to "earn" the necessary amount of hard currency to be paid to the FOCA. /They have a special permit from the Finance Ministry to pay back the missing sum through the Hungarian National Bank./ As Gyorgy Szekely, head of department, National Tourist Office, said the general "recession" of tourism has not avoided the Budapest Grand Prix either. So far 15,000 rooms have been booked for the car-race /usually 60 percent of the hotel-rooms are booked at the beginning of August in Budapest/ but in May and June lots of bookings have been cancelled. Now there are 200-250 vacant rooms out of the 15,000 booked in advance and so far Formula-1 fans have paid 300,000 dollars for tickets.

As tickets will be available also on the spot, there will be more than 10,000 Western viewers at the first Grand Prix held in a socialist country. However, it is certain that they will not be able to sell tickets to the value of 1.2 million dollars. According to the latest data the organisers will be able to make about 500,000 dollars and Western tourists coming to Hungary to see Formula-1 will spend another one million at the hotels and restaurants.

The question whether it is possible to make forint as well as dollar-profit from a contract made at the Western price-level is still open.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

ROLE OF SMALL ENTERPRISES IN INDUSTRY ANALYZED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 July 86 p 10

[Article by Jozsef Nyers, head of a main department at the Central Statistical Office]

[Text] At the end of the 1970's it was recognized that in a socialist economy the small and medium enterprise sector must complement the large enterprises for the sake of more efficient operation, and that there is also a need for small entrepreneurships based on family work and capable of flexibly satisfying changing demands. This recognition showed itself in organizational modernization measures following in the wake of studies and resolutions by central economic guidance organs, in the course of which various trusts and large enterprises were eliminated and a series of factories and plants became independent enterprises. With the modification of the enterprise law, profile restrictions were reduced and there was a continuing growth in opportunities for flexible adjustment. A number of producer enterprises received independent export rights.

New Forms

From 1982 to the end of 1984, in the first phase of the transformation of the organizational forms, 170 small enterprises and almost 200 small cooperatives were created, mostly by the detachment of units and their independent establishment, and in some cases by rolling over an existing producer unit. Substantially more, almost 800, specialized cooperatives were formed. The most dynamically developing organizational form was the enterprise workers business partnership (vgm), the number of which came to over 11,000 by the end of 1984. The number of small private industries expanded, and workers' partnerships established by private persons came to more than 2,000 in 1984.

Despite their impressively high numbers, the new industrial organizational forms belong among the less important economic units with respect to both the number of their personnel and total sales. In 1984, 87.3 percent of the value of all industrial activity was provided by traditional industrial enterprises and cooperatives, 10 percent by nonindustrial organizations, 1.4 percent by private industry, while the remaining 1.3 percent was divided almost equally between small enterprises and small cooperatives, and between the enterprise workers' business partnerships and the specialized groups.

Because of their accounting rules for production value, the manpower ratio of the new type of organizations is substantially higher than in the older forms. In 1984 there were 14,000 persons working at small enterprises, 9,000 at small cooperatives, and 18,000 at cooperative specialized groups. The number of vgm members surpassed 130,000, and 10,000 worked at business partnerships established by private persons.

In response to 1985 organizational modernization measures, the number of enterprises increased by 80 as compared to the preceding year, and the number of cooperatives increased by 150. Most of the newly created enterprises are small council enterprises. Small organizations operating in the framework of business units continued to increase. Although the rate of increase in 1985 was more moderate, it was still noteworthy. The number of vgm members increased by 40,000.

Small organizational forms are less stable than traditional ones. The number of new units operating within the framework of proprietary organizations is large, but the elimination of earlier units is also significant. This organizational type is considerably market and demand sensitive, even if the external environment makes itself felt only through the proprietary organizations.

The achievements by small organizations operating in industry at the level of the people's economy is not important, but with their production of items in shortage, their service, and with their removal of bottlenecks in the production process of large and medium-sized factories they contribute to an increase in industrial performance capability. The increase in the number of small organizations in 1985 was realized along with a substantially slow rate of production growth, as compared to previous years. Under such circumstances their influence on surplus performance is active after regular working hours, and thus in addition to the growth in productivity they also expand resources in an extensive way.

The legal and economic conditions among the new type of business organizations are rather heterogenous. This makes it impossible to pursue a unified mode of discussion even in regard to detailed matters, and therefore in the following we shall try to show the main results and problems according to business types. Let us begin with the easiest, the small enterprises.

This form of small plant production has not differentiated itself from the operation of the medium-sized and large enterprises that play a major role in our economy. With a few modifications, regulations designed for state enterprises were also valid for the small ones. In accordance with the spirit of the decree, this enterprise form was accompanied by the need to undertake and undergo greater risks. But the independence and responsibility of the enterprise collectives also grew. For example, in the large enterprise sphere, a wage regulation system providing greater decisionmaking freedom was in effect until 1985. At the very start, the central organs calculated that because of the tight development resources, they would establish small enterprises only in small numbers but the continuous further development and modernization of the enterprise organizational system would

justify detaching certain departments and operating these in the form of enterprises. These expectations were proved right by events. In 1982, only two small enterprises were established, but in the middle of 1983, with the separation of Afit [Industrial Trust for Auto Maintenance] and Gelka [Electrical Maintenance Enterprise of the Machine Industry] at the initiative of the central government, the number of small enterprises came to 148. Twenty one additional small enterprises were established in the second half of 1983 and 1984, most of them in the small enterprise form operating as subsidiaries. Beginning in 1985, the new management forms were partly merged with the changes in the organizational system, and the small enterprise disappeared as a concept. Most of them--in consequence of their size--became a part of the industrial council enterprises.

Few Entrepreneurships

Among the present small enterprises--which were formed in 1985 and although they were not called small enterprises they belong there as industrial organizations by virtue of their size and data processing duties--there are still only a few truly flexible organizations which are entrepreneurial in the classic sense of the word, that is, by adjusting to changing domestic and foreign conditions are capable of breaking into markets which are not profitable for traditional organizations despite the lure of profitability --at the price of greater risks. Those production organization and profile changes which characterize these small enterprises and artificially created organizations carry, in any event, the possibility for the establishment in the future of a more flexible and entrepreneurial industrial organization structure.

Various Motivations

The decrees which took effect in 1982 also offered an opportunity for the creation of more flexible entrepreneurial forms in the cooperative sphere. In this sector the small cooperative, specialized group, and the fixed rate payment system made up the operational forms of the small organizations, which were established in part by some modification of the earlier forms. Among these, the first two are of greater importance in industry, where not being forbidden by statutory provision, quite a few were established among industrial cooperatives causing some surprises. Most of the small cooperatives operating in 1982 owed their existence to the statutory provision which provided for the transformation into small cooperatives of those which operated with no more than 100, respectively 30 workers. But the further expansion of the small cooperatives was a spontaneous process based on the recognition of the advantages of this management form.

As a result of these movements which were variously motivated and different in orientation, the number of small cooperatives in industry rose from 80 in 1982 to 191 by the end of 1984, and to 352 in 1985. Most of the small cooperatives perform machine industry tasks. At the end of 1984 the small cooperatives had 10,000 workers, but compared to the cooperative industry as a whole, their share was less than 5 percent. The average number of workers in a small cooperative has risen and at present comes to more than

50 persons. From the very first moment of their existence enterprise workers' business partnerships stirred emotions. With respect to the number of participants, this small organizational form is the most important among all the entrepreneurial forms, and thus its existence or nonexistence has an effect on the livelihood of a large and increasing ratio of workers. There has been a debate about whether the working groups are fulfilling the role which was originally intended for them and whether their area of tasks as it has developed is antithetical to the norms and requirements of socialist management. It is difficult to make istic judgment, because their existence and operation is closely linked to that of the enterprises, and thus possible negative aspects of enterprise behavior may appear as aberrations of the work association arrangement.

The first 3 years of the work association organization in industry were characterized by rapid increases, and the characteristic areas of work association activity were developed at the same time. Thus an opportunity was created for using internal resources to complete maintenance jobs, which were long neglected, by turning to vgm's. A large number of vgm's were also established, particularly in metallurgy and certain subbranches of the machine industry for the performance of basic tasks.

By 1985 the number of vgm's in industry had stabilized, whereas the average number of members in the working groups rose. In addition to the pressure exerted by non-vgm members on the vgm's, this development is explained by the fact that some of the enterprises themselves see the organizational process of the enterprise workers' business partnerships as having been concluded. The importance of the vgm's on basis of the volume of annual total sales achieved by the groups is difficult to judge because it only includes primarily wage and tax elements. Thus total 1985 sales of the vgm's amounted to 7.4 billion forints and represented 0.6 percent of industrial production, while the 1985 total sales of 10 billion forints represented 1 percent.

The new income regulatory system which came into effect on 1 January 1985 created more favorable possibilities for differentiating pay for regular working time performance, at least at enterprises using income level regulators. Thus by 1985 there were signs that certain tasks formerly performed in the vgm's were being done by the enterprise during regular work time. At most enterprises the work organizations meet the requirements of daily production and are an important means of extending capacity and manpower. Thus many of the vgm's have been organically built into enterprise management activities, and external undertakings which are not supported by most of the parent organizations--are exceptional rather than characteristic.

Specialized Groups

The specialized group is a small organizational form operating in the framework of a cooperative with independent accounting, limited self-rule and economic independence. It operates in relative legal security and fits uniquely into the management order. The specialized group is not a legal entity, but still it has a great deal of autonomy within the managing

organization. In the final analysis, it has the main characteristics of a legal entity, including independent property--even if it is regulated as the "subproperty" of the cooperative--and the property responsibility of the members is also limited to the joint property of the specialized group. It manages its own accounting.

Recognition of the advantages of the small entrepreneurial form is exemplified by the dynamism which characterizes the growth of the number of specialized groups. The number of such groups operating in industry between 1982 and 1985 doubled from year to year, and by the end of 1984 the almost 800 groups had 18,000 members. In 1985 the number of groups rose to 1,132, and the number of individual members to 27,000. Despite the opportunities granted by statutory provisions, relatively few members are full-time workers. Ninety percent of the employees are in membership or work relationships with the cooperatives. According to 1985 data, specialized groups operated at 42 percent of the traditional cooperatives, and even more characteristically, the ratio of members was nearly 10 percent. The specialized group form has become widespread, particularly in the construction material, transportation means, and electrical machinery and equipment industries.

Experience with the new organization types--even though they have not realized every hope--is generally favorable. In a period when the performance capability of the people's economy has not grown to the desired degree, it is an important fact that the small organizations with their growing working time base and their organization have contributed--although all in all to a modest degree--to improving the performance capability of the economy, to its more flexible adjustment, and to its capability for change. A considerable ratio of the small organizational forms which are dominant in industry may be regarded for the time being, however, as internal work organizations and not as entrepreneurships. In the future may become an important goal to strengthen their entrepreneurial character.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

GORYWODA QUERIED ON FIVE-YEAR PLAN PROSPECTS

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 29, 20 Jul 86 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda, chairman of Planning Commission, by Janusz Ostaszewski]

[Text] [Question] ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE: Work on the draft of the 5-year plan for 1986-1990 went on for 3 years. The important part was presented in the proposals for the 10th Congress and has been widely disseminated. But I would like to ask you what was behind the reasoning of the main planning body in creating this rather detailed plan, the implementation of which, we would all like to think, will make life easier for us?

[Answer] Manfred Gorywoda: In constructing this plan, we sought an answer to the following question: How, under our current economic circumstances and the existing and anticipated determinants of management, can we create the necessary premises for long-range, effective development; in other words, how can we shape an economic policy which would produce effective economic growth, not only during these 5 years but also in the years that follow, making it possible to steadily improve our standard of living. We felt, therefore, that the following achievements were absolutely essential: Modernization of the economy, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, changes in structure, greater participation by Poland in the international division of labor, and restoration of economic balance in order to improve the effectiveness of economic reform and management efficiency.

[Question] Precisely, a steady, solidly based improvement. This was criticized during the discussion on the program for development. Many persons believed that the growth rate is being planned much too cautiously and that as a result the awaited improvement will not be satisfying.

[Answer] I am aware of these opinions but I do not share them. The effort which we must make to achieve this planned rate of development, to meet the challenge of the future, is greater than ever before. Most of all, this applies to management efficiency. We have only to remember that the entire increase in production must come from a growth in labor productivity and that 50 to 60 percent of the increase in national income must come from savings of raw materials, other materials, fuels and energy.

[Question] Difficult does not mean ambitious. After all, we must not only catch up with the world, but also with what is immediately around us. Therefore, aren't those people right who say we have to move faster?

[Answer] And do statements such as this--which, in any case are obvious--give us a greater capability than we now have? We cannot create a plan based on wishful thinking. We must create a plan that is realistic, that is based on a good knowledge of capabilities and determining factors, and not on recognized and recorded needs. If we ignore the facts we have pure economic voluntarism. And what that leads to we already know from bitter experience.

[Question] So what are we bringing into the next 5-year plan?

[Answer] A substantially regenerated level of production but at the same time many accumulating problems, of an internal and external nature. I agree with the term previously used, that this is a detailed plan. Yes, it really is detailed, but precisely for these reasons. Therefore, it would be completely unrealistic to promise that further improvement will come easily, effortlessly, that all expansion and consumer needs will be quickly satisfied.

[Question] We hear from all sides that the future will not be easy. But aren't these opinions and forecasts too pessimistic? A good number of experts believe that we are not making use of many existing possibilities and reserves for growth. Others say that the depiction of Poland as a country far down the scale in Europe is totally without basis. Yet certainly we have sufficient assets to achieve progress more rapidly, if only we make better use of them.

[Answer] Between extreme pessimism and official optimism, which I never expressed and do not express, there is a great deal of place for an honest assessment of realities. If I emphasize this particular interlocking of factors which determine our development, it is only because they stem from honest assessments and forecasts.

[Question] Perhaps we can describe them more closely.

[Answer] We will have the most modest, compared with the past, quantitative increase in factors controlling development--both raw and other materials, fuels and energy, and labor. The first problem is most vividly illustrated by the example of hard coal. Mining will not grow and a great deal of effort will have to be expended in maintaining mining at its present level. Therefore, if we do not economize on coal there will be a shortage, unless, of course, we begin to import it.

The increase in the labor market will be slight. We estimate that over the entire 5 years there will be a increase of approximately 350,000 people of working age. Let us compare this number with the 1.6 million people during the 1971-1975 period, or the 1.2 million during 1976-1980. Furthermore, most of the 350,000 new workers will have to take work in the service trades. As a result, in 1990 there will be approximately 6,000 fewer people working in industry than in 1980. It appears, therefore, that the national income will grow only when there is a definite growth in labor productivity.

[Question] It appears, then, that this genuine shortage of labor could turn out to be an effective stimulator of technological and organizational progress.

[Answer] It could be, except that the growth of labor productivity is necessary because of the poor condition of our production assets. After all, the depreciation of our machinery and equipment has been estimated at 65 percent, and in some sectors, 70 percent. Thus if productivity is to grow, we must give labor the proper equipment. Yet during 1981-1985 we bought only one license, and furthermore, for various reasons there was a serious slowdown in innovative processes.

One may say, spend even more for development. But the question arises--at the expense of what? Consumption or external balance? Because let us add that, after all, as distinct from the 1970's, instead of reinforcing the economy from the outside, we must allocate part--and a very large part, at that--of our national income to service our foreign debt. Our debt to the capitalist countries already exceeds 30 billion dollars, while to the socialist countries it exceeds 5 billion rubles. Therefore, we must improve our balance of payments, increase exports, and make sure that our export offers are attractive.

It is obvious, of course, that basing expansion on quantitative growth factors, that is according to the plan which we have followed thus far, is completely unrealistic. This would result in stagnation with all of its social consequences. And here we return to the question whether the tasks outlined in the plan are ambitious or not. It can be answered with another question: Can the attempt to put into motion factors for intensive development, on a scale unprecedented in our history, be regarded as a task which is not very ambitious?

[Question] But as far back as memory takes us there has been talk about the necessity for putting them into effect and usually this ended with the talk.

[Answer] Because never before has a decision been made to radically change management policy, the methods by which the economy functions, which is indispensable to this. Now there is no other alternative--we must direct the policy towards a distinct improvement in management efficiency. This, now, is the axis of the plan's concept: To provide the materials and systems for rapid progress in efficiency.

[Question] You said at the beginning that one of the main tasks in the plan is to modernize the economy and make structural changes. This requires an increase in investments. Yet investments never were, unfortunately, an intensive factor. On the contrary, they carried many risks.

[Answer] The rate of investment growth will not be very high. It is planned that it will amount to approximately 19 percent for 1986-1990, i.e., it will be slightly higher than the growth rate of national income, which is planned at 16-19 percent. However, we must make a decisive change in the structure of investment, and above all, we must drastically increase the efficiency of investment processes.

As to structure, it is anticipated that total outlays for production will be increased up to 70 percent, of which industry should get--if we are to seriously consider modernization and a halt in disinvestment--approximately 34.5 percent. Modernization endeavors will receive definite priority. Actually, outside of the food industry and fields of an infrastructural nature, it is not anticipated that construction of any new large industrial facilities will be begun. Decidedly greater outlays will be allocated for new machines and equipment.

[Question] From what you said about creating material conditions for rapid progress in management efficiency, it appears that there must be better utilization of labor resources and production assets, economical use of raw materials and energy, a change in the structure and management of investment, a growth of export, an acceleration of innovational and applications processes, and changes in the structure of production and the entire economy. The question is: How will this be achieved? I put it to you, the director of the office responsible for economic reform, for the construction of an economic mechanism which will determine the success of this economic policy.

[Answer] It is obvious that an acceleration of improvement in efficiency requires a suitable economic mechanism. Just as it is obvious that we must develop economic reform and pass into its second stage, i.e., improve its effectiveness. The primary problem is the speed at which balance is recovered. It is this balance which will determine the effectiveness of the functioning of the economic and financial mechanisms and tools, the ability to apply economic constraints on a wide-scale basis. Progress in this area is not just a matter of economics. It is just as much a political and social matter.

[Question] Excuse me, but that sounds just like the well-known "yes, but" routine. Is this "but" not being overused insofar as the rate of applying the principles of economic reform into practice is concerned?

[Answer] I am forced to be realistic in the face of such a statement. In the process of applying reform, a much more difficult period--socially and economically--awaits us than we have already gone through. The application of large and spectacular institutional changes--I am referring to the laws fundamental to reform--is already behind us. The application of economic mechanisms compelling efficiency and increasing the effectiveness of their influence will be a hard struggle. The struggle for observance of efficiency requirements often collides with the interests of many socio-occupational groups.

[Question] This is not an unimportant matter, but in addition to applying and enforcing economic compulsion, the mechanism must stimulate and support ingenuity and the striving for expansion. This would attract many supporters, particularly if it were possible to ensure a correct relationship between wages and work and a decided preference for hardworking, enterprising and inventive workers.

[Answer] There is no doubt that we must respect and enforce economic compulsion in all economic activity and prevent and resist actions aimed at evading these pressures. The principles of enterprise liquidation and

bankruptcy must begin to function, even at the cost of limiting a specific type of production or services. The assets of the inefficient enterprises should be transferred to those who know how to use them properly. The organization of the economy also must be changed in accordance with the rule of this compulsion. It must truly support the economic organizations and the household farms which operate efficiently and at the same time it must penalize all proceedings which are not in compliance with these requirements.

But this will be possible only when management efficiency becomes the main criterion of price-income policy. Here is where we come to the "but" mentioned earlier. The interconnection between the state of balance and the effectiveness of economic mechanisms and their construction is very strong.

All of these economic reasons speak for speedy balancing of the economy. In respecting them we must consider the degree of public readiness to accept such actions. On the other hand, the social costs of the continuing state of imbalance or the approach to balance by small steps may, in the last analysis, turn out to be even more difficult and painful for society to accept than quick and drastic measures. But the choice is not easy.

The 10th Party Congress spoke out in favor of an acceleration of reform, and thus in favor of accelerating actions aimed at achieving balance. Some concrete proposals for economic policy must come out of this.

[Question] In the light of the decisions of the congress and the discussion, which on economic questions was very interesting, will any changes be made in the preliminary draft of the 5-year plan before it is submitted to the Sejm?

[Answer] We foresee changes and are already working on them. Acceleration of reform will come about when economic parameters are put into place: Prices, exchange rates, rapid balancing of supply with demand, consistent application of self-financing principles, and reduction of subsidies. This means that the rules of play must be tightened and that changes in price-income policy must be more intensive. These often difficult, and understandably unpopular, measures would help to create the conditions under which an improvement in the effectiveness of reform would be possible.

In passing into the second stage of reform, the inspection of organizations and their management and wider application of job appraisals, initiated by the Tenth Congress, will certainly be helpful.

In accordance with the discussion and the results of the deliberations of the congress we will strive to develop a price-wage policy and a financial policy in the draft plan. Greater attention will also be focused on more clearly defining the instruments and tools contained in the plan, so as to ensure their greater effectiveness and influence on shaping economic balance. Work is being done to define methods and means for increasing the effectiveness of influence on economic processes, particularly on putting investments into order, which was strongly stressed at the congress.

As to the social goals of the plan, based on a congress resolution and on the opinions of the OPZZ and other sociopolitical entities, the draft of the

National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-1990 should lay open the issue of health and environmental protection as well as the issue of socialist social justice in income policy.

[Question] Mr Premier, it is true that the availability of goods on the marketplace shapes our morale, but there are two areas which are probably more important to the public than the market. I am referring to housing construction and pollution control. Can we expect any improvement in these areas?

[Answer] During this 5-year period over a million families should move into new apartments. That is one matter. The second, however, to which we attach a great deal of weight, is the matter of repair and modernization of old buildings. Almost another million apartments, specifically 900,000, will be repaired and modernized. But this 5-year plan should above all create the necessary conditions so that after 1990 housing construction can be accelerated. But I want to strongly stress that the scale of this acceleration will depend on the overall rate of development of our economy, the growth of national income. We cannot look for a solution to the housing construction problem in isolation from what is happening in the economy as a whole.

Outlays for pollution control will grow to 320 billion zlotys, i.e., 67 percent compared with 1985. This means that at least 700 new waste-water treatment plants will be built and that the capacity to reduce dust-emissions will be increased to 6.6 million tons and gas-emissions to 120,000 tons.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

[Manfred Gorywoda] And I thank you, and in conclusion I would like to add that we are planning a growth in national income. We are also planning its division--the growth rate of investment and consumption. Experience has taught us how bad the consequences are of allocating more for growth than we were able to produce.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

FOOD PRODUCERS POLLED ON INDUSTRY PROGRESS, PROBLEMS

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 29, 20 Jul 86 p 11

[Article by Jozef Garczarczyk: "Food Producers' Opinions"]

[Text] The food situation, despite some stabilization, is not good, according to the consumers. True, improvement in availability has made it possible to remove most articles from the ration list, but the selection and quality of the goods is not satisfactory. Polls conducted among food producers for the last 2 years by the Economics Academy in Poznan reveal that 79 percent of 200 enterprises polled were not able to expand the range of products offered during this time, although their production grew, but slowly. In the remaining enterprises periodic rises and falls were recorded. For example, in the fourth quarter of last year a greater variety of items were produced in the fats and confectionery industries and in the bakeries. But at the same time the number of items offered by the fruits and vegetable industry fell.

The greatest increases in the last quarter of last year were in the production of condiments, concentrates, desserts, candy and confectionery products, chocolate and chocolate products, flour products (spaghetti, etc.), dark beer, jams, canned fish, smoked and marinated fish, rye bread, animal fats, and delicatessen products. However, there was a large drop in production of canned fruits, fish (fillets and whole dressed), cereals, sour cream, milk drinks, and butter. The principle reasons given most often for the reduced production, according to the poll's respondents, were lack of raw materials, lower demand, thus fewer orders from the retail trade, lack of packaging, machinery breakdowns, insufficient ingredients and poor quality of raw materials.

Deliveries of raw materials during the last 2 years also were steadily higher. Only in the fourth quarter of 1984 did deliveries fall. But there are large seasonal fluctuations in deliveries, especially to dairies, the fruits and vegetables industry and the fish industry. Despite a certain improvement in availability of raw materials, supplies are still lower than the plants are able to process. Last year deliveries to fruit and vegetable processing plants dropped the most, due to poor crops in cucumbers, tomatoes and strawberries. However, deliveries to meat and fish processing plants rose considerably, and to bakeries and confectionery plants moderately. Nevertheless, the fish, confectionery, fats and meat industries felt the

shortage of raw materials most acutely. The shortages disrupted the continuity of production in every fifth plant polled, and every fourth plant used substitute raw materials. Most frequent complaints about lack of ingredients came from the confectionery, meat, and fruits and vegetables plants. In the opinion of every fourth respondent, substitution of raw materials or ingredients reduced the quality of the products.

Raw materials are important, but it takes more than that. In every third enterprise polled the number of employees was not enough to fill requirements, and over 60 percent of those polled said that the shortage of vehicles makes an increase in production impossible. The remaining respondents felt that a 10 to 30 percent increase in production was possible if raw materials were available. In almost every other enterprise there was a shortage of packaging goods.

The total amount of stocks of finished goods in industry as a whole remained at approximately the same level. Only in the second quarter of 1984 was there a moderate drop (caused mainly by a rather large drop in stocks in fruit and vegetable processing plants), but stocks rose in the fourth quarter of 1985, especially in the fish, fats and bakery industries.

In the fourth quarter of last year stocks of cereals, canned fruits, animal fats, filleted and dressed fish, and grade 2 beef, rose greatly. At the same time, there was a large drop in stocks of imported wines, condiments, main-meal concentrates and chocolates. In the opinion of industry, there was an improvement in the quality of smoked fish, filleted and dressed salted fish, rye bread, rolls and vegetable fats, but the quality of dark beer and animal fats suffered greatly. During the last quarter of 1985 retail orders for cereals, canned fish, domestic wines, candy and confectionery products, sour cream, edible oil, and milk drinks, fell. At the same time, retail demand for imported wines, condiments, main-meal and dessert concentrates, flour products (macaroni, etc.), and chocolate, rose.

According to the producers, no important changes in the amount and structure of food supplies and their quality should be expected in the near future.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

WORK APPRAISAL METHODS ADDRESSED BY REFORM GROUP

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 29, 20 Jul 86 p 11

[Article by M.K.: "Universal Job-Appraisal Method--85"]

[Text] Wage relationships are a socially sensitive problem. Examples of injustices stemming simply from the fact of "belonging" to a particular work sector or from a distinct underestimation of the qualifications and scope of responsibility are very upsetting. A job-appraisal method, being developed at the Institute of Labor and Social Affairs, is an attempt to eliminate these injustices in remuneration. Among the specialists, this method is known as the Universal Job-Appraisal Method--85, or UJAM--85. A meeting of the Commission for Economic Reform Group III, concerned with enterprise problems, was devoted to a discussion of this method.

The method, which was also discussed in our columns (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 3, July 86), was described by director J. Pacuski from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. According to the creators and promoters of this concept, job appraisal, if it is to be an effective instrument in controlling wage relationships and the basis for developing wage scales, must ensue from one, uniform and universal method, even though this method of work measurement is not very precise and focuses only on requirements without regard to work efficiency.

Director Pacuski, in anticipation of possible objections, also stated that use of a job-appraisal method does not mean that wages will be centrally controlled, because the real measure in zlotys of the "value" of the points, which UJAM-85 uses, will depend on the enterprise's economic and financial status.

While the job-appraisal method is being examined, a search is also being made for a solution to the problem of minimum wages. The lowest wage base, amounting to 3,200 zlotys, and the lowest wage, which is 5,400, are, for all practical purposes, nonexistent. It is estimated that they pertain to only 0.2-0.3 percent of the people employed in the national economy. True, as Ministry of Labor studies show, for this group of people this is a second or third job, still there is pressure to increase these amounts. This stems from psychological reasons, but also from the fact that minimum wages are the base on which benefits in plant incentive systems are calculated.

It is proposed that these 5,400 zlotys be the "zero" category on the job-appraisal scale. This amount, increased by the "qualifications" portion, putting a figure on the simplest work, will give the lowest wage base (it will probably amount to approximately 7,500 zlotys). This amount, increased 20 to 30 percent (such is the average share in the wage of various types of allowances) will give the lowest wage estimated at about 10,000 zlotys. It is anticipated also that the 5,400 zlotys amount will be indexed annually by a wage increase envisaged in the National Annual Plan.

Application of a job-appraisal method, its authors admit, does not mean an automatic improvement in wage relationships, but it is believed that consistent and comprehensive application of the method may bring the anticipated results in 2 to 3 years.

Work is still underway on the necessary Council of Ministers resolution. It is intended that the UJAM-85 method be instituted by the end of the year so that the new concept of indexing and minimum wages can be effective in 1987.

This is not the first time an attempt has been made to make wages more equitable through the use of job appraisal. An attempt to analytically appraise jobs was made in 1981, when a universal method for work and nonwork stations was instituted. However, it did not meet with approval. The same fate befell Order No 16 issued by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs in 1984, which applied a job appraisal method only to work stations. As the members of Group III observed, the earlier attempts do not forebode well for this one either. Also, as emphasized, Yugoslavia's experience in instituting compulsory job appraisal rules, the same for all enterprises, in 1953, proves that the universal method is a failure. A similar fate, in the opinion of those at the meeting, awaits UJAM--85. The structure of production and the wealth of technological processes, it was said, will doom any top-level attempt to define measurement criteria. Furthermore, according to the group, the fact that UJAM ignores the labor market is a grave shortcoming. This may, in the future, force enterprises to look for unofficial ways to bypass regulations in order to comply with its requirements.

The group members agreed that the job appraisal method, as a model, can be very useful to enterprises in designing plant wage systems. But it will very likely fail as a universal method for the entire economy.

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ENFORCEMENT GUIDELINES ON BANKRUPTCY LAW PROVISIONS PUBLISHED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (REFORMA GOSPODARCZA supplement) in Polish No 81, 24 Jul 86 p 4

[Minister of Finances Directive No 54, dated 26 June 1986, on guidelines pertaining to execution of the provisions of art 19 and 24 of the 29 June 1983 law on improvement of the management of a state enterprise and on its bankruptcy]

[Text] Based on sect 1 par 5 of Council of Ministers Resolution No 174/85 dated 28 October 1985 on a program for implementation of the motions of the National Party-Management Conference in Poznan, it is directed as follows:

Section 1. "Guidelines on execution of provisions of art 19 and 24 of the law dated 29 June 1983 on improvement of the management of a state enterprise and on its bankruptcy," are issued as an annex to the directive.

Section 2. The directive becomes effective on the date of publication.

Guidelines on the execution of the provisions of art 19 and 24 of the law dated 29 June 1983 on improvement of the management of a state enterprise and on its bankruptcy.

1. The guidelines will pertain to:

-- assurance by the parent agency of the enterprise that funds are available to cover its losses during the administration of the board of commissioners,

--guarantee by the parent agency of the credit granted by the bank to the enterprise being administered by the board of commissioners,

--repayment of bank credits granted to the state enterprise being administered by the board of commissioners on the parent agency's guarantee, if the enterprise has not paid its obligations as stated in the agreement granting the credit,

2. The parent agency may make a decision to place the enterprise under the administration of a board of commissioners, as described in art 15 and 19 of the law dated 29 June 1983 on improvement of the management of an enterprise or

on its bankruptcy (Daily Gazette, No 8, item 46, 1986), hereinafter called "the law," after previously ensuring the enterprise the necessary funds to cover its losses during the administration of the board of commissioners.

By "losses during the administration of the board of commissioners" it is understood to mean both the loss (negative balance statement) of the enterprise on the day that the board of commissioners was installed, remaining after the reserve fund to cover this loss is depleted, as well as the loss anticipated during the period of administration by the board of commissioners, but not longer than 2 years (art 20, par 1, of the law).

By "necessary funds" it is understood to mean the necessary amount of budget subsidy allocated to cover losses during the administration of the board of commissioners. If the parent agency intends to make a decision to extend the period of administration by the board of commissioners, which cannot be of a duration exceeding 2 years as stated in art 20, par 1, of the law, it is also required to previously ensure funds to finance losses during this period.

3. Assurance of necessary funds is regarded as:

1) a decision by the minister of finances, made on the basis of a substantiated application by the parent agency which is the chief or central organ of state administration, in accordance with which in the draft state budget submitted to the Council of Ministers a commensurate subsidy to finance the losses of the described enterprise during the administration of the board of commissioners is included in the reserve funds of the national budget,

2) a resolution by the applicable people's council, made on the basis of a substantiated application by the parent agency which is the local organ of state administration, in accordance with which the loss of the described enterprise during the period of administration by the board of commissioners will be financed out of the applicable local budget.

The issuance of the decision or resolution respectively is an expression that an agreement has been reached with the minister of finances, as stated in art 19 of the law.

4. The subsidy referred to in par 3 may be included in the draft budget if it is ascertained that:

1) the correctness of the decision of the parent organ not to liquidate the enterprise--in view of grave public interest--and to put it under the administration of a board of commissioners, arouses no doubts,

2) the dimensions of the losses already suffered and anticipated during the administration of the board of commissioners, were determined correctly,

3) the possibilities of financing the needs of the enterprise by bank credits have been exhausted, in accordance with regulations in effect,

4) all other funds (except a budget subsidy) to finance the needs of the enterprise, including sources for covering losses in the form of contributions

by purchasers or suppliers to the enterprise over whom the parent agency intends to put a board of commissions, have been exhausted.

5. In an exceptional case, when a subsidy is to be allocated to cover losses in an extended period of board of commissioners' administration, it can be included in the draft budget, as referred to in par 3, only if it is further demonstrated by the parent agency of the given enterprise that:

1) the program presented by the board of commissioners to remedy the management of the enterprise, prepared for the period provided in art 20, par 1, of the law, will not be implemented for reasons independent of the enterprise and the parent agency, and that during the time the program was being prepared and presented to the parent agency, the emergence of these reasons could not be foreseen,

2) the results of the operation of the enterprise under the administration of the board of commissioners and the measures taken in connection with the existing reasons for failure to implement the program for remedying the enterprise's management, referred to in subpar 1, guarantee that during the extended period the indispensable level of management will be attained, allowing for the prevention of the occurrence of the dangers listed in art 4 of the law.

6. Numerical data and other indispensable information which permits ascertainment of the actual status described in par 4 and 5, should contain the parent agency's application, referred to in par 3.

7. The treasury office, at the instruction of the pertinent Ministry of Finances department, will evaluate the justifiability of granting a subsidy for the losses of the enterprise during the board of commissioners' administration, giving special attention to whether all other sources for financing the needs of the enterprise have been exhausted (par 4, subpar 4), and whether it is advisable to grant this subsidy, that is, whether it will help to remedy the management of the enterprise during the period of the administration of the board of commissioners provided in the law (par 4, subpar 1).

8. The guarantee by the parent agency that the credit described in the bank agreement will be repaid (art 24 of the law) is a condition, after the fulfillment of which the enterprise under the administration of the board of commissioners can apply to the bank for turnover or investment credit. This guarantee may be granted if the applicable local treasury office issues, at the request of the parent agency, a favorable opinion on the economic justifiability of the enterprise's application for bank credit.

The treasury office sends copies of the opinion to the pertinent Ministry of Finances department. Supplemental explanations or justifications for the position taken in the opinion should be attached.

9. The condition for the issuance by the treasury office of a favorable opinion--irrespective of the economic justifiability of granting the credit or indications that the credit will be repaid, referred to in par 8--is that the

enterprise under the administration of the board of commissioners will maintain wage increases within the limits which will not result in a tax burden due to above-norm wage expenditures and that prizes and bonuses paid out of profits for management personnel will be tied to progress in the implementation of a management-improvement program.

10. The parent agency which guaranteed the repayment of the credit is therefore required, as part of its supervision over a state enterprise, to:

1) make certain that the program presented by the board of commissioners for remedying the enterprise's management (art 23, par 1, of the law), includes actions indispensable for the repayment by the enterprise of the guaranteed credits within the scheduled time periods,

2) regularly review the implementation of the program for remedying the enterprise's management, based on reports of the implementation of the program submitted every 3 months by the enterprise under the administration of the board of commissioners.

11. If a state enterprise under the administration of a board of commissioners has not met its obligations as set forth in the agreement for credit guaranteed by the parent agency, the repayment of this credit may be made out of the reserve funds of the national budget, or if the parent agency is a local organ of state administration, out of the applicable local budget.

12. The parent agency anticipating the necessity of committing subsidies out of the budget for:

1) coverage of enterprise losses during the period of the administration of a board of commissioners installed because of losses suffered by an enterprise which has already exhausted its reserve funds and the bank has refused to grant further credit,

2) repayment of bank credits granted to a state enterprise under the administration of a board of commissioners at the guarantee of the parent agency, if these credits cannot be repaid by the enterprise to which they were granted,

includes in the draft of its budget for a given year the applicable requirement for this subsidy. If the needs listed in subpar 1 and 2 were not foreseen in the budget for a given year and they appear during that year, the parent agency submits a request to the Ministry of Finances that they be financed of the reserves of the national budget, or if the parent agency is a local organ of state administration, out of the budget of the voivodship's people's council.

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ECONOMY

POLAND

500 TOP MANUFACTURING ENTERPRISES RANKED

Warsaw ZARZADZANIE in Polish No 6, Jun 86 pp 46-63

[Text]

[Chart on following page]

100

(1) Rok przebieg przebieg	(2) Nazwa przedsiębiorstwa i symbol branży	(3) (4) (5)		(6) Wynik finansowy	(7) Odczer- nia ogółem	(8) w tym podatki dotyczący						
		(3) Sprzedaż	(4) Ekspert				(5) Akumulacja					
1965	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1966	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1967	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1968	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1969	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1970	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1971	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1972	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1973	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1974	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1975	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1976	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1977	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1978	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1979	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1980	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1981	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1982	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1983	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1984	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
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1986	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1987	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1988	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1989	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1990	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1991	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1992	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1993	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1994	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
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1996	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1997	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1998	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1999	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2000	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2001	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2002	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

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		OGÓŁN.		15,72		713909		145466		842504		395182		188887		20,88		13,89		2275407		1797071		21464		4832690		46		33,1	
		6446082		63,9		783		74,4		83,4		66,4		49,5		x		x		67,0		50,9		x		x		x		x	
1	1	POLMOS Warszawa	244	474918	1,99	419605	1	16479	3	417116	403132	11560	-	-	-	10,99	29,88	63	424340	8485	27302	5	819	184	21410	123	71186	7	45	34,7	
2	2	PETROCHEMIA Plock	024	301503	4,76	101701	12	21718	2	197042	76922	15189	-	-	-	18,13	10,88	287	109918	8518	22464	6	114	2169	140	26338	12	49	42,4		
3	3	PIETA LENINA Kraków	024	145637	7,19	94621	13	8913	8	13164	899	30793	-	-	-	25,0	16,88	395	109918	35724	22464	33	37	25281	38	26338	33	37	51,8		
4	4	PIETA LENINA Warszawa	024	145637	23,81	4105	494	6614	13	10494	359	4028	-	-	-	18,48	4,87	417	21164	43564	27085	6	583	288	21381	124	67640	9	39	19,0	
5	5	Komb. G.H. Miedzi Lubin	052	132262	36,03	14725	6	17455	5	13675	5	7280	-	-	-	42,61	18,48	162	21164	43564	27085	6	583	288	21381	124	67640	9	39	19,0	
6	6	FSM Bielsko-Biala	102	81046	14,11	17995	5	12318	6	22489	10596	7921	-	-	-	4,75	19,42	151	34347	27302	27302	5	819	184	21410	123	71186	7	45	34,7	
7	7	WPS Warszawa	024	79376	13,62	26615	4	15299	4	31201	17653	9717	-	-	-	12,68	28,81	72	34347	27302	27302	5	819	184	21410	123	71186	7	45	34,7	
8	8	WPS Warszawa	024	79376	3,83	33324	3	5186	20	32201	28114	3779	-	-	-	20,39	12,81	250	34347	27302	27302	5	819	184	21410	123	71186	7	45	34,7	
9	9	WPS Warszawa	024	79376	8,68	14851	8	14029	5	10474	13	8134	-	-	-	25,70	24,46	134	27137	27085	27085	6	583	288	21381	124	67640	9	39	19,0	
10	10	URSUS Warszawa	103	60785	4,17	19859	7	7290	11	15795	9055	4771	-	-	-	24,61	13,44	239	27137	27085	27085	6	583	288	21381	124	67640	9	39	19,0	
11	11	Gwardia POLMAG Katowice**	072	69103	24,63	12247	10	12113	7	8533	161	6709	-	-	-	27,60	21,72	129	26960	26960	26960	8	1062	105	24955	45	4591	16	43	33,6	
12	12	O.P. Przem. Mies. Katowice	231	64923	0,00	-3175	498	1073	189	2229	1251	286	-	-	-	49,96	1,48	457	-4842	9024	9024	29	1234	101	16577	473	11034	93	43	60,8	
13	13	WPS Warszawa	024	56146	14,41	-19	498	1073	189	2229	1251	286	-	-	-	49,96	1,48	457	-4842	9024	9024	29	1234	101	16577	473	11034	93	43	60,8	
14	14	WPS Warszawa	024	56146	14,41	-19	498	1073	189	2229	1251	286	-	-	-	49,96	1,48	457	-4842	9024	9024	29	1234	101	16577	473	11034	93	43	60,8	
15	15	HUTA SŁOWA WOLA	081	54058	46,84	2381	104	4688	25	2340	18	532	-	-	-	10,02	9,06	392	6304	3803	3803	125	881	164	26160	27	21730	42	45	31,7	
16	16	Huta Miel. Niezależny Katowice	054	35197	8,05	3104	70	3099	45	2940	5	2004	-	-	-	10,02	9,06	392	6304	3803	3803	125	881	164	26160	27	21730	42	45	31,7	
17	17	O.P. Przem. Mies. Bydgoszcz	231	44235	0,00	-1816	474	2416	65	2616	536	1378	-	-	-	6,21	5,28	412	1013	7898	7898	36	1153	76	26278	465	6025	174	50	79,5	
18	18	BUMAG WPS Gliwice	061	41982	51,29	5372	34	7586	18	3611	1	8802	336	-	-	45,37	21,10	133	13702	11988	11988	36	1153	76	26278	465	6025	174	50	79,5	
19	19	HUTA SŁOWA Katowice Św.	042	40862	-457	442	1757	105	2414	166	800	1800	-	-	-	27,51	4,28	424	13702	11988	11988	36	1153	76	26278	465	6025	174	50	79,5	
20	20	O.P. Przem. Mies. Wrocław	231	36416	0,90	-3712	493	1449	127	2368	989	752	-	-	-	11,06	9,13	422	13702	11988	11988	36	1153	76	26278	465	6025	174	50	79,5	
21	21	Z-ty Chemiczne Oświęcim	126	35384	12,67	6333	27	6432	14	9628	21	4142	-	-	-	18,70	22,11	123	10630	7370	7370	43	1422	45	20681	177	37878	20	56	43,8	
22	22	SIARKOPOL. Tamborzeg	138	34966	74,79	1765	158	6300	16	5375	2	3378	-	-	-	24,64	19,02	160	9935	10936	10936	21	933	147	25107	42	51757	14	45	60,2	
23	23	HUTA SŁOWA Warszawa	042	34963	10,52	3136	69	3188	44	3402	28	2105	-	-	-	16,21	9,91	311	8625	7176	7176	25	1234	101	16577	473	11034	93	43	52,3	
24	24	HUTA SŁOWA Trzebnia	053	34963	58,20	1486	187	1488	124	1190	18	1000	-	-	-	16,21	9,91	311	8625	7176	7176	25	1234	101	16577	473	11034	93	43	52,3	
25	25	O.P. Przem. Mies. Warszawa	231	35372	0,00	-2725	485	1137	178	1992	897	528	-	-	-	16,21	9,91	311	8625	7176	7176	25	1234	101	16577	473	11034	93	43	52,3	
26	26	O.P. Przem. Mies. Warszawa	231	35372	0,00	-2725	485	1137	178	1992	897	528	-	-	-	16,21	9,91	311	8625	7176	7176	25	1234	101	16577	473	11034	93	43	52,3	
27	27	RAFINERIA Czechowice	024	32374	1,43	12398	9	1904	95	11828	10395	1260	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
28	28	RAFINERIA Czechowice	021	31936	21,46	-3001	488	2861	23	4534	3406	1406	-	-	-	13,76	14,03	230	12618	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
29	29	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
30	30	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
31	31	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
32	32	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
33	33	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
34	34	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
35	35	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
36	36	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
37	37	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
38	38	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
39	39	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
40	40	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
41	41	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
42	42	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
43	43	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
44	44	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
45	45	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
46	46	FSC Lubin	102	31194	1,91	10075	57	8629	57	8629	5710	3406	-	-	-	24,93	9,49	319	13429	11879	11879	12	552	303	18409	378	24068	37	55	29,0	
47	47	FSC Lubin	102																												

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984	1984
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
56	53	Z-dy. Celul. i Papieru Świecie	181	21607	11,43	4356	45	4580	26	3050	18	2555
57	53	Szczona WARSZAWSKIEGO Szczecin	105	21352	61,52	1325	33	3861	34	2816	2	2081
58	54	WSK Swidnik	106	20986	66,14	5514	32	5153	21	3266	360	1458
59	54	AUTOSAN Sanok	102	20482	15,24	3584	59	2776	53	3861	809	1556
60	55	Z-dy. Przem. Tylnowickiego Krakow	255	19951	3,85	1707	166	1703	110	1276	4	1026
61	60	Ralieria TRZEBINIA	024	19719	3,02	7159	19	881	226	6785	6277	424
62	58	HORTEX Gora Kalwaria	246	19717	74,2	1165	229	1164	166	646	646	1
63	58	UNITRA-WTJ Warszawa	115	19229	2,79	6378	23	1490	121	6757	5390	1133
64	64	Szczona LENINA Gdansk	105	18966	85,86	3532	491	2600	60	3575	135	135
65	62	Z-dy. Met. Lekkich Kety	053	18887	2,20	2262	111	2221	75	2035	41	1440
66	68	Huta BOBREK Bytom	042	18780	1,16	2553	494	937	217	959	1	576
67	74	O.P. Przem. Miesn. Bialystok	231	18626	0,00	212	429	1350	142	1159	163	803
68	70	W.P. Przem. Miesn. Elk	231	18257	0,00	152	428	1175	161	1108	107	666
69	54	AZOTY Pulawy	123	18224	11,91	4433	495	134	491	894	1	121
70	65	Huta POKOJ Ruda Sl.	042	17633	5,67	3240	490	212	478	1471	3	140
71	67	O.P. Przem. Miesn. Koszalin	231	17541	0,00	1122	483	532	311	735	172	352
72	78	Z-dy. Chem. Koszalin	123	17532	13,49	9761	499	2947	48	2441	162	1354
73	68	ORGANIKA-ZACHEM Bydgoszcz	124	17440	15,00	1358	200	1371	138	1241	162	406
74	74	Z-dy. Przem. Skorz. Chelmek	222	17309	20,88	5356	35	869	230	5480	4740	354
75	83	DIORA Dzierżonów	115	17201	7,73	7114	21	1428	132	6960	6010	622
76	61	Z-dy. Przem. Tył. Radom	255	17098	1,62	1295	239	1294	148	1070	1	894
77	77	F. Kabli i Masz. Kabl. Krakow	112	16884	19,04	1763	160	1836	98	735	5	408
78	94	LUCZNIK Radom	067	16507	12,64	7122	20	3359	38	6501	3979	844
79	79	ORGANIKA Brzeg Dolny	124	16297	25,31	630	338	1186	159	1111	15	583
80	96	UNITRA-POLKOLOR Pleszczno	115	16205	25,21	3228	66	4397	28	4766	1413	2782
81	75	Hut. Przem. Ramont-Katowice	098	16015	2,27	3322	64	3321	39	3179	1	1971
82	83	MESKO Starzysko-Kam.	113	16012	25,46	3577	60	3317	40	2886	260	991
83	84	ZASTAL Zielona Gora	101	15826	64,03	2953	75	2952	47	1713	1	1037
84	84	Z Hut-Przem. Met. Niezla. Wroclaw	054	15458	14,33	1708	165	1694	111	1488	14	1037
85	97	ROMET Bydgoszcz	104	15295	13,00	2931	78	1359	140	2860	1861	758
86	69	W.P. Przem. Miesn. Gdansk	231	15950	0,00	1732	472	343	447	818	335	105
87	72	ZP Tuszowzowa Gruzskia	249	15122	57,02	5036	49	2160	77	1285	1	105
88	69	Cukrownie Dochołskie Wroclaw	243	15101	3,94	748	312	1431	131	1319	1	771
89	82	Cukrownie Wielkopolskie Poznan	243	14935	37,46	2471	100	2418	64	1861	139	684
90	80	Z-dy. Koksownicze Wabrych	021	14934	16,83	4877	444	728	274	768	5	487
91	110	Huta SWIERCZESKIEGO Zawadzkie	042	14809	1,32	3677	55	3552	37	2833	26	2370
92	103	Huta Alum. KONIN Maliniec	053	14810	0,42	2072	128	2070	83	1768	2	1299
93	107	Z-dy. Wlok. Chem. Tomaszow Maz.	127	14511	3,14	4873	41	3762	35	4153	1091	2544
94	106	F. Kabli ZALOM Szczecin	112	14478	25,37	731	314	987	209	213	15	70
95	79	ZPC 22 UPCA Warszawa	251	14441	6,12	3593	58	2654	58	3712	1432	1955
96	105	Nauk. Prod. Cent. Plozrow. W-wa	115	14382	19,08	3747	53	3763	36	1760	33	828
97	100	GLINK Gonicie	072	14193	19,22	2257	112	2256	71	1450	1	1057
98	99	W.P. Przem. Miesn. Szczecin	231	14175	0,00	-1541	467	202	480	210	74	1
99	108	UNIMOR Gdansk	115	14001	2,54	3728	54	742	268	3520	2995	302
100		Pierwsza „100” ogółem	3766700	15,80	48959	369237				954769	639733	201104
		Udział pierwszej „100” w przem. przew.	58,4	*	65,5	51,7				65,6	75,5	50,9
		Udział pierwszej „100” w przem. przew.	38,5	*	51,3	33,0				48,8	62,9	33,8
101	124	Szczona Pomocna Gdansk	105	13991	88,31	1824	152	2124	79	503	60	107
102	84	W.P. Przem. Miesn. Cooile	231	13799	0,00	-1666	470	200	481	522	163	83
103	91	BELBAG Bielawa	191	13654	11,18	2944	78	1771	103	2593	1220	1096
104	123	ZFA-KASZPARKA Warszawa	115	13439	4,55	5194	37	1595	117	5089	3947	693
105	123	ZFA-CENTRA Poznan	113	13435	3,73	6684	26	1841	98	6601	4848	1216
106	121	AGROMET Plock	082	13430	12,50	3447	62	3115	43	2926	335	1634
107	119	Centr. Pwn. Win Imp. Warszawa	247	13088	0,74	8750	15	870	229	9580	7880	610
108	120	ZPS PODHANE Nowy Targ	222	13084	14,15	2636	94	1686	112	2699	1287	1023
109	98	RARNERIA Jedlicze	034	13004	1,71	2764	86	1740	107	2351	1045	1206
110	123	POLFA Tarchomin	124	13007	42,96	4068	49	4089	31	2883	2686	2686

(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)				(15)				(16)	(17)	(18)
					Dotacje	Opis z zysku na fundusz rozwoju	Rentowność netto	Produkcja czysta	Zatrudnienie przeciętne	Wydajność pracy	Pracowni wynagrodzenie miesięczne	Środki trwałe produkcyjne brutto (31.XII)			
min zł	%	%	min zł	liczba zatrudn.	poz.	rys. zł	poz.	min zł	poz.	rys. zł	poz.	min zł	poz.	%	% (31.XII)
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	27
1328	16,14	3,63	435	419	2616	224	129	381	17695	421	3170	333	40	42,6	
-	594	7,34	364	3234	3926	122	1460	297	20910	156	5535	201	65	46,2	
-	17,11	14,36	224	5160	6890	35	209	209	20910	156	5535	201	65	46,2	
120	30,72	8,32	342	3211	4312	102	563	256	20043	231	7460	172	45	43,9	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	54,13	6,14	395	2877	2852	199	999	135	24648	283	5349	178	37	33,5	
-	30,84	28,69	171	6305	8991	27	191	67	27178	20	18131	58	44	34,9	
45	18,83	24,52	102	4357	5080	77	912	153	23564	39	11084	92	48	29,3	
-	23,90	11,03	286	4250	4627	89	646	261	19877	28	7447	145	55	35,0	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
34	29,97	12,00	266	3042	3251	183	920	151	21464	119	12287	77	60	47,7	
1741	4,79	3,90	430	6324	2658	262	141	403	18070	419	2509	366	42	32,5	
1358	15,74	39,17	428	80	4719	86	1453	41	18670	342	7271	152	42	40,7	
2328	0,97	-24,41	467	-1701	1831	310	97	385	17634	423	6451	173	37	49,3	
-	-	-	-	-	4210	108	-692	413	19595	267	72704	5	20	28,4	
856	105,66	3,34	429	1406	3051	121	198	370	18818	233	12627	76	55	14,6	
-	26,52	39,64	29	4155	2502	242	1558	30	28229	10	7375	149	59	51,9	
99	66,07	11,26	385	4537	6101	35	449	334	18290	389	3923	273	49	39,3	
-	43,83	6,17	393	1613	648	463	1677	24	22192	90	937	488	50	29,8	
1564	-	17,09	27,19	83	3520	150	1108	91	20091	226	8912	115	53	52,9	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2088	73,09	4,61	421	1827	5531	71	268	361	24425	52	13655	70	50	32,6	
2331	30,36	10,23	303	2468	1096	413	1630	27	22610	79	5233	210	51	51,3	
-	5,33	10,26	231	2889	2338	180	974	134	18877	325	10439	99	56	42,1	
-	10,34	14,06	231	3182	3759	131	806	192	18644	348	9867	100	41	32,7	
2417	0,00	0,40	464	-1155	2258	272	-745	414	17615	435	3115	341	37	55,5	
-	40,96	39,64	29	8155	1724	534	1255	63	19530	268	4255	263	38	47,6	
-	15,71	21,33	130	3247	2035	233	1371	50	20149	220	5716	195	60	64,1	
-	19,01	7,43	353	2882	4416	81	295	284	18036	412	14079	69	46	44,8	
2457	59,66	2,88	446	1223	4961	81	240	366	23367	63	15039	64	49	41,8	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	25,14	93,77	3	6482	2669	187	2048	13	20515	196	6395	175	38	64,5	
158	40,96	6,73	354	2539	1898	315	1200	70	19434	232	7327	137	51	17,2	
354	34,04	7,63	329	2391	2512	241	334	354	18605	356	9189	110	61	19,7	
-	32,78	18,33	165	4760	4371	60	697	242	15355	360	6376	175	54	44,0	
-	22,90	13,90	234	2674	2374	260	633	248	15025	414	2341	384	53	43,0	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	11,68	8,56	328	4399	6030	62	537	309	20956	153	11170	89	68	49,7	
-	9,48	9,15	322	2180	3020	165	709	227	20320	164	1993	423	51	37,8	
-	23,57	14,94	216	5178	5561	69	613	275	18283	390	4214	265	45	37,4	
-	21,61	23,17	114	5432	6598	57	729	217	18862	328	18997	53	51	32,8	
410	30,39	9,02	326	1883	2948	189	287	362	18950	322	9351	107	59	20,5	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	31,63	19,87	146	3294	2162	279	1507	36	24300	53	14570	66	50	57,8	
-	27,08	12,17	261	3731	864	436	1022	133	19553	315	2273	402	52	40,9	
-	11,69	29,07	69	4151	3767	130	1039	115	19848	248	8471	124	51	34,4	
-	30,57	11,85	268	5209	7639	39	633	267	24996	44	7503	144	30	23,2	
-	8,99	16,44	195	5465	4131	112	655	252	19128	404	3824	285	31	63,4	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-	5,94	29,92	64	5272	6446	59	792	197	21366	126	12079	81	44	40,6	
-	53,40	2,61	449	1273	3173	171	-25	395	15215	395	11088	91	50	17,2	
421	23,37	21,84	128	7233	1512	356	107	15912	324	7503	145	32	22,3	22,3	
-	16,78	83,28	5	6165	3020	169	1655	19	19765	261	3765	298	46	44,8	
-	29,06	32,26	55	5703	6805	52	737	214	20431	193	9094	112	61	53,8	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
11	25,71	8,75	333	3546	4116	113	629	270	20123	221	8767	117	55	37,1	
-	2,90	27,66	78	3932	2692	121	1376	49	28114	29	8043	131	56	31,5	
1470	29,66	11,59	273	499	1423	370	316	358	19621	269	5812	191	37	25,6	
-	39,32	26,90	84	6974	2566	231	795	195	21916	259	1414	253	39	41,5	
557	18,65	10,65	293	1373	2092	288	582	289	18165	402	4357	245	30	32,1	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)		(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)								
							w tym podatki																			
Pozycja sprzedaży	Nazwa przedsiębiorstwa i symbol branży	Sprzedaż	Ekspert	Akumulacja	Wynik finansowy	Obciążenie ogółem	obrotowy	dochodowy	Dochód	Opis z tytułu rozwoju	Retenność netto	Produkcja czysta	Zatobudowanie	Wydajność	Przebieg	Wartość	Suma	Pozycja								
1985	1984	min zł	%	min zł	poz.	min zł	min zł	min zł	13	%	%	min zł	liczba	tyś. zł	poz.	min zł	tyś. zł	%								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19								
221	300	POLLEN Nowy Dwór Maz.	132	7182	6.31	511	358	282	459	511	229	125	5.50	4.23	426	1236	1293	385	762	208	19780	258	3699	299	45	27.5
222	265	Z-oy Przem. Siorz. Warszawa	222	7158	1.49	2184	117	1079	2181	2181	1194	768	18.05	22.04	125	3758	3132	175	821	153	19087	312	2497	388	30	41.8
223	276	POLFA Poznań	134	7150	42.85	2360	106	2345	57	1550	15	1459	28.30	48.89	17	3020	1156	403	2513	9	22872	72	2268	404	37	30.5
224	295	Z-oy Papiernicze Mysłowice	181	7142	0.00	557	353	529	352	405	28	145	50.12	8.10	348	1727	2344	264	709	227	9	22872	72	2268	404	37
225	255	Sł. Z-oy Un i Drogi Zarze	665	7133	6.43	1113	243	1153	168	1119	5	790	3.03	19.14	159	2076	1879	317	1090	98	20608	165	4629	243	65	34.3
226	244	DOZAMET Nowa Sól	073	7114	18.29	1387	185	1570	118	1221	31	892	29.32	27.83	77	3202	3719	137	841	174	20689	176	4930	224	49	32.6
227	227	Z-oy ALBA Łódź	191	7100	5.99	1497	194	784	249	1328	603	556	15.56	23.85	236	2662	2633	207	781	198	19388	96	8104	130	49	32.6
228	230	Z-oy Chem. Innowocjów	122	7089	38.32	1937	457	253	470	352	41	41	67.01	3.16	440	934	2617	240	333	355	20321	210	19288	136	37	33.7
229	210	Kuty Słonia Krosno	152	7081	24.80	1043	263	940	216	1402	342	489	14.48	15.60	205	3530	6649	54	489	329	18175	401	8283	126	45	26.2
230	199	Łódzkie Z-oy Dobrosławie Łódź	233	7063	8.15	100	417	335	448	1571	1	62	55.73	4.81	419	918	1773	329	396	346	18728	339	4043	273	25	25.2
231	222	W.P. Przem. Mjean. Kielce	231	7059	0.00	-1077	462	293	454	483	165	148	9.09	3.68	434	-508	1412	371	437	338	18333	385	1834	438	38	62.4
232	249	Z-oy MEWA Biłgoraj	201	7056	7.34	2366	79	744	267	2759	2191	451	27.37	18.19	172	4385	3747	135	562	297	16329	478	2305	397	35	38.5
233	133	POLGAZ Gliwice	133	7045	0.02	1937	141	1926	93	1856	11	1402	6.25	35.08	40	3113	3166	172	945	144	20611	184	10876	95	38	52.1
234	233	Z-oy Przem. Jeleń. Gorzów	194	6980	10.17	1738	164	429	402	1712	1309	245	34.95	8.21	344	2934	2706	209	609	276	20755	172	5252	209	69	47.5
235	241	AGROMET Sieradz Op.	082	6978	21.71	1233	221	1020	202	980	213	453	16.41	17.43	185	2240	2030	294	897	156	18570	358	4806	230	48	36.0
236	211	ZP Tuszczewo Gdansk	249	6961	14.94	-1606	469	480	379	294	-	154	35.88	5.56	408	-1009	743	454	-1986	422	20746	174	1980	425	56	8.4
237	267	POLFA Jeleń. Góra	134	6956	68.59	4107	48	4108	30	3055	-	2742	25.05	14.43	40	4892	1738	333	2741	5	20584	188	2345	395	54	37.2
238	250	Z-oy WAWEL Kraków	251	6955	3.53	2028	133	1317	145	2050	961	900	22.38	26.77	87	2532	1374	377	1134	87	18644	348	1188	474	67	37.2
239	230	CONSLAT Chorzów	101	6931	17.71	1247	219	1246	105	931	-	1740	28.00	21.96	127	2271	1939	312	1149	80	22703	77	3604	304	55	45.2
240	254	Z-oy Soudow. Janikowo	122	6924	33.39	752	311	1478	122	1452	1	1070	7.72	23.96	108	1809	1991	302	885	162	19484	278	10876	96	53	44.4
241	223	FRUCTOPOL Lublin	247	6919	26.05	2391	103	529	354	1883	240	763	15.01	11.61	272	3301	3001	301	605	278	16860	489	3408	319	41	15.2
242	258	Huta 1 MAJJA Gliwice	073	6916	21.93	1280	212	1300	147	980	243	763	25.62	23.05	111	3026	3101	176	959	139	24151	54	5664	199	62	34.4
243	243	POLAM-PLA Pila	115	6906	14.63	1696	176	688	293	1834	1261	400	42.40	13.10	246	3238	3059	178	636	264	17539	442	8010	132	26	36.0
244	244	PACUTIL Bydgoszcz	261	6878	0.00	-1590	468	472	381	389	317	374	28.37	5.58	407	-1135	830	445	-1329	420	16787	471	2296	398	40	26.9
245	241	ZP WISTUL Kalisz	194	6873	6.24	2744	90	629	317	2590	2116	374	8.07	15.30	210	3591	1877	318	720	222	19724	263	3555	302	66	47.5
246	182	Cukrownia Gdansk Malbork	243	6867	22.44	630	339	497	373	702	9	205	76.57	7.99	350	1832	2475	245	714	223	18668	343	7875	134	55	21.9
247	298	Z-oy SKOGAR Łódź	222	6853	23.49	1676	171	735	272	2689	2201	256	35.20	14.27	225	3690	2147	282	698	134	26107	30	2407	391	35	21.7
248	243	Z-oy Wyr. Papier. Kielce	182	6845	0.01	779	305	774	253	618	5	471	13.10	10.12	387	1776	1970	304	647	260	19881	244	2704	375	48	15.5
249	249	Z-oy Tuszczewo Brzeg	249	6817	40.28	-1693	471	914	244	2112	1435	372	37.32	14.72	220	3072	3389	154	1371	50	25316	36	6761	160	47	40.6
250	250	Z-oy Białost.-Hajkowiec. Świdnica	227	6769	8.43	1104	246	540	350	3045	2630	286	24.61	9.57	317	2463	2595	227	-171	400	19240	296	965	487	53	31.4
251	224	PREDOM-PRESPOL. Niewiadów	067	6764	6.81	832	292	383	421	701	452	116	25.65	6.44	387	1885	2027	296	505	279	23457	62	2407	391	35	21.7
252	266	Huta 1 MAJJA Gliwice	042	6738	15.82	483	361	627	320	666	381	242	13.10	10.12	387	1776	2147	282	698	134	26107	30	2407	391	35	21.7
253	246	Wawmiska ZP-OW Kwidzyn	046	6695	13.40	2112	122	677	298	1917	1435	372	37.32	14.72	220	3072	1970	304	647	260	19881	244	2704	375	48	15.5
254	253	Wocznia Remontowa Szczecin	108	6670	60.82	2886	82	2911	50	2112	1435	372	37.32	14.72	220	3072	3389	154	1371	50	25316	36	6761	160	47	40.6
255	265	Z-oy Przem. Baw. Łomża	191	6669	8.52	907	283	149	488	1000	763	94	24.61	9.57	317	2463	2595	227	-171	400	19240	296	965	487	53	31.4
256	245	W.P. Przem. Miern. Jarosław	231	6667	0.00	-243	432	344	446	475	114	183	6.75	4.98	416	417	1708	336	182	375	17730	430	2169	410	35	21.6
257	245	Z-oy ORTAL Łódź	194	6650	10.75	2692	91	1173	163	2431	1520	776	16.31	29.91	65	3749	2179	278	957	140	22805	74	4469	250	76	48.3
258	258	Z-oy Zak. Urz. Jadr. Warszawa	094	6635	78.39	2745	89	2740	55	2048	5	1460	16.80	70.29	7	4604	3054	179	1451	42	21877	102	2404	392	40	45.2
259	208	Z-oy Zak. Urz. Jadr. Warszawa	094	6635	78.39	2745	89	2740	55	2048	5	1460	16.80	70.29	7	4604	3054	179	1451	42	21877	102	2404	392	40	45.2
260	260	Łódzkie Z-oy Dobrosławie Łódź	022	6624	40.98	1544	182	1542	119	1331	2	1003	3.61	28.87	66	3075	3009	183	1017	123	22095	151	34906	22	49	26.8

(1) Pozycja sprzedaży		(2) Nazwa przedsiębiorstwa i symbol branży		(3) Sprzedaż		(4) Eksport		(5) Akumulacja		(6) Wynik finansowy		(7) Odpisy na opłaty		(8) w tym podatki do odroczenia		(9) Dotacje		(10) Opisy z tytułu finansowania		(11) Różnica netto		(12) Produkcja czysta		(13) Zamówienia przebiegłe		(14) Wartość pracy		(15) Przebiegłe wynagrodzenie miesięczne		(16) Średni wartość produkcji brutto (31.XII)		(17) Stożenie z tytułu inwestycji		(18) Zapasy produkcji na koniec roku			
1985	1984	1985	1984	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	%	poz.	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	min zł	max zł	%	poz.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	
276	221	BACUTIL Poznań	6269	0,13	-370	459	193	483	235	-	143	-	1164	2,23	266	443	-228	771	450	-593	412	7220	461	1844	436	41	178										
277	351	Zr Jedw. PIERSZA Łódź	6261	11,96	2282	109	727	275	2151	1555	4	-	60	21,40	13,66	167	3322	2101	282	595	195	20876	161	4336	251	56	40,8										
278	282	Ok. Z-d. Gaz. Górniki	6259	0,00	550	304	614	324	863	360	4	-	133	0,00	10,50	232	2925	2726	2774	200	21219	137	5769	152	50	36,1											
279	282	NITRON-ERG Kropki Młyn	6247	4,56	6247	787	702	284	699	87	239	-	133	12,21	12,98	232	2925	2726	2774	200	21219	137	5769	152	50	36,1											
280	262	Z-d. Kocz. Spół. Skawina	6245	8,03	344	390	516	350	474	11	234	-	133	25,96	8,75	333	871	1222	391	635	265	17686	432	2198	407	56	14,9										
281	278	Z-d. Przem. Tusz. Bodaczów	6243	55,55	-1208	465	600	328	387	-	281	-	1808	34,37	8,04	349	-708	704	458	-1206	218	19577	274	1277	468	55	32,2										
282	342	Z-d. Papiernicze Szczecin	6206	7,18	356	396	362	433	307	143	46	-	1164	45,46	6,22	391	1106	1433	258	711	225	19862	247	6187	186	62	93,2										
283	275	STOMIL Łódź	6206	7,18	356	396	362	433	307	143	46	-	1164	45,46	6,22	391	1106	1433	258	711	225	19862	247	6187	186	62	93,2										
284	291	ZUCHAP Kielce	6203	33,38	1938	140	1939	92	1790	1224	-	-	339	10,34	45,59	222	554	3619	142	904	155	19782	256	8930	214	50	55,2										
285	271	Z-d. Drobniarska Warszawa	6170	0,00	29	421	368	431	369	-	274	-	339	13,54	5,99	400	554	989	422	515	319	18831	331	437	497	36	42,6										
286	365	ZWO VERA Łódź	6156	4,87	2911	80	968	214	2750	1943	-	-	1164	18,18	29,91	65	3591	134	358	1164	63	20771	167	3325	324	40	52,9										
287	240	BACUTIL Katowice	6150	0,00	-783	453	311	423	311	-	241	-	1164	15,13	29,91	65	3591	134	358	1164	63	20771	167	3325	324	40	52,9										
288	279	PZZ Poznań	6121	15,11	-2860	487	855	234	651	503	4	-	3715	22,59	3,52	316	-2036	1195	394	241	365	22266	86	2795	232	48	18,2										
289	301	Ok. Z-d. Gaz. Warszawa	6100	0,00	1733	108	1887	168	1784	6	1132	-	3715	3,42	39,98	23	3388	3152	173	1060	106	22119	92	32345	25	41	22,1										
290	284	Z-d. Włókien Chem. Jelena Góra	6062	0,00	1693	147	1890	96	1784	3	1400	-	-	8,50	4,533	23	2331	1905	313	1532	31	20197	216	5728	162	58	32,8										
291	336	CZSMI Murowana Goślina	6060	0,00	111	416	233	473	14	-	-	-	122	0,00	3,86	431	289	120	480	5126	1	23540	59	2840	498	35	8,4										
292	341	Z-d. Turbin Techn. Zyrardów	6057	1,55	812	297	815	241	664	-	584	-	-	14,82	15,61	204	289	1191	395	1170	74	19771	260	1840	437	46	42,9										
293	288	POLAM-GOSTYNIN Goszyn	6057	53,94	1307	208	1166	164	875	228	540	-	-	41,57	24,70	123	2334	2344	264	831	179	19452	239	2272	403	36	49,9										
294	343	F-ka Nacyn. Emaliow. Myszków	6054	1,19	1236	220	662	301	1269	608	445	-	-	11,19	13,83	203	2333	2191	276	199	210	2180	217	2959	357	49	29,0										
295	314	ZNTK Ostrow Wilip.	6053	0,53	621	293	820	240	832	2	469	-	-	10,10	13,82	203	3143	5358	73	573	292	20702	175	6799	158	42	35,9										
296	245	ZP Tuszozwego Katowice	6035	1,82	-53	426	628	318	390	-	173	-	681	35,40	13,32	360	373	895	442	699	337	21046	146	1349	456	47	28,7										
297	259	Z-d. Drobniarska Kielce	6025	19,63	417	629	315	790	331	-	424	-	197	4,78	11,19	282	1321	1284	384	699	234	19578	273	1490	456	41	22,4										
298	287	AGROMET Jawor	6019	7,79	1047	259	919	222	888	128	-	-	547	13,77	13,77	282	1321	1284	384	699	234	19578	273	1490	456	41	22,4										
299	344	POLZA Pabianice	5990	46,97	2542	115	2263	70	1695	1562	-	-	4102	18,67	6,82	10	3105	1471	308	931	149	132059	295	6867	154	44	38,4										
300	263	PZZ Breg	5977	3,94	-3109	489	983	207	708	-	585	-	-	33,63	13,86	287	-2530	1945	363	2040	15	23094	67	2870	363	53	35,5										
301	302	F-ka Nici OORA Nowa Sol	5980	1,86	1121	247	511	365	539	111	465	-	-	18,16	15,11	213	2309	3017	182	658	254	17293	455	4651	240	64	19,2										
302	302	F-ka Nici OORA Nowa Sol	5980	1,86	1121	247	511	365	539	111	465	-	-	18,16	15,11	213	2309	3017	182	658	254	17293	455	4651	240	64	19,2										
303	302	F-ka Nici OORA Nowa Sol	5980	1,86	1121	247	511	365	539	111	465	-	-	18,16	15,11	213	2309	3017	182	658	254	17293	455	4651	240	64	19,2										
304	302	F-ka Nici OORA Nowa Sol	5980	1,86	1121	247	511	365	539	111	465	-	-	18,16	15,11	213	2309	3017	182	658	254	17293	455	4651	240	64	19,2										
305	302	F-ka Nici OORA Nowa Sol	5980	1,86	1121	247	511	365	539	111	465	-	-	18,16	15,11	213	2309	3017	182	658	254	17293	455	4651	240	64	19,2										
306	246	Z-d. Drobniarska Lublin	5973	10,87	463	366	588	332	539	-	356	-	125	11,07	10,87	288	1072	1356	379	326	356	17204	462	1297	431	42	22,7										
307	308	ZP STRADOM Częstochowa	5962	7,23	1309	207	503	368	1196	806	-	-	280	27,47	11,01	285	2631	2038	292	650	253	21166	142	2290	400	63	42,3										
308	307	EMA-ELSTER Łódź	5935	62,60	1367	199	1354	139	1108	3	-	-	348	9,76	30,74	261	1688	1443	367	317	357	16597	381	2597	381	44	34,2										
309	247	Z-d. Drobniarska Toruń	5932	12,43	-2	423	482	374	457	-	258	-	4042	23,63	5,26	414	-2769	1389	376	-263	407	18776	335	5034	218	49	19,1										
310	261	PZZ Wrocław	5926	0,00	-3550	492	374	359	457	-	258	-	-	18,86	15,92	176	-2769	1389	376	-263	407	18776	335	5034	218	49	19,1										
311	328	Z-d. Uz. Technicz. Świeciszewo	5923	20,26	1265	211	1318	144	1096	-	778	-	-	15,79	25,56	65	3024	2493	243	254	64	21824	104	9300	103	43	44,5										
312	313	ZANET Tarnowskie Góry	5789	9,83	775	306	471	251	680	-	1	-	-	20,54	15,58	268	3246	2493	243	254	64	21824	104	9300	103	43	44,5										
313	352	ZPO MODUS Bydgoszcz	5779	25,76	244	407	419	409	261	77	-	-	-	15,04	15,58	268	3246	2493	243	254	64	21824	104	9300	103	43	44,5										
314	343	Z-d. Chem. HAJDUKI Chorzów	5761	2,02	698	322	266	466	676	432	163	-	-	15,04	15,58	268	3246	2493	243	254	64	21824	104	9300	103	43	44,5										
315	333	Z-d. Armatury Kraków	5750	5,97	1091	249	836	238	989	255	-	-	-	12,61	17,92	176	2342	2659	212	761	209	20245	212	5535	202	50	33,9										
316	326	Z-d. Drobniarska Szczecin	5740	3,03	-48	425	380	437	312	-	182	-	363	0,03	6,22	391	561	1262	397	373	349	18982	321	3419	317	31	46,4										
317	309	WSK Gorzyce	5713	6,89	1194	227	279	1053	536	217	-	-	-	19,02	15,61	204	2539	3221	367	332	363	20507	197	7341	143	4											

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Key:

1. Sales ranking
2. Name of industry and branch symbol
3. Sales
4. Export
5. Aggregate net earnings
6. Net earnings
7. Total tax liability
8. Including tax on income/sales
9. Subsidies
10. Allocations from profits to development fund
11. Net profitability
12. Net output
13. Average employment
14. Productivity of labor
15. Average monthly wage
16. Productive fixed assets (gross book value on 31 Dec)
17. Fixed assets depreciation rate
18. Operating Fund-Reserves Coefficient
19. mln zl = in millions of zlotys
poz. = ranking
liczba zatrud. = number of employees
tys. zl = in thousands of zlotys
20. Total
21. Share of "500" in total

/6091

CSO: 2600/637

ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

BANKERS MAKE PILGRIMAGE--The first Bankers' Prayer Meeting was held on 10 May at Jasna Gora. Approximately 5,000 employees of the Polish National Bank, Polish Security Bank, cooperative banks, Food Industry Bank, General Savings Bank, and Bank of Commerce, from all over the country, made a pilgrimage to the Czestochowa Sanctuary. A Way of the Cross service was held and a mass was celebrated in front of the Miraculous Image. In a plea for recovery from the economic crisis, the pilgrims made a votive offering to the Holy Virgin--an amber rosary with a 1,000-zloty coin bearing the likeness of the Holy Father, John Paul II. An Act of Devotion by Polish bankers to the Virgin Mary was made. A telegram informing the Polish primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, of this pilgrimage, was signed by representatives from all voivodships. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 26, 29 Jun 86 p 4] 9295

CSO: 2600/606

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

POOR RANKING ON 'MISERY INDEX' TIED TO SYSTEM

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 86 pp 8-9

[Article by Dusan Sekulic: "Development: Where Are We?"]

[Text] Nobel prizewinner Klein's "misery index" moves Yugoslavia from Europe to Asia. Are we going to give up?

"Misery index" is the name given to the formula by which the American economist Lawrence Klein, Nobel prizewinner, calculates the seriousness of the economic situation in a country. The formula is quite simple: the rate of inflation plus the rate of unemployment. If we are to take Klein's word for it, the misery index in Yugoslavia at this moment is higher than 100: inflation is 92 percent, plus the 12-percent rate of unemployment (the sum of the employed and the unemployed divided by the unemployed [sic]). This is very unfavorable, the kind of figure they have in South America. The highest misery index appropriate to Europe, which Britain or Italy sometimes record because of unemployment, is about 20, while in the most highly developed countries of the world, such as Japan and West Germany, this index goes no higher than 5.

Given the kind of high persistent inflation we have had and the steady changing of the exchange rates, and also because of application of different methods of computation, the per capita national income which once was frequently used as a datum should today be taken with caution. Let us say that it is highly suspicious, yet it is still a disturbing computation which shows that the Yugoslav's national income fell from about \$2,200 7 years ago to only about \$1,030. This computation to some extent refutes a different computation according to which the per capita average personal consumption in our country should be about \$1,000 per year, which means that one of these two figures must be wrong. But it is true that that consumption in the advanced countries ranges between \$5,000 and \$7,000 per year. Just as it is true that the country's relative indebtedness is increasing in spite of the absolute reduction of the debt in convertible currency by more than \$1 billion. The generally accepted limit on creditworthiness is when no more than one-fourth of a country's total inflow of foreign exchange goes for the debt. Yugoslavia was at that limit in 1981, when it had a total of \$21.1 billion in debt. Last year, when the debt amounted to \$19.9 billion, the level of indebtedness had reached 45 percent of the total inflow of foreign exchange. One reason for that was

the amount of interest on unpaid installments which have come due, and another was the drop in the value of our exports.... But for 6 years we have not heard anything more frequently than the demand for larger exports!

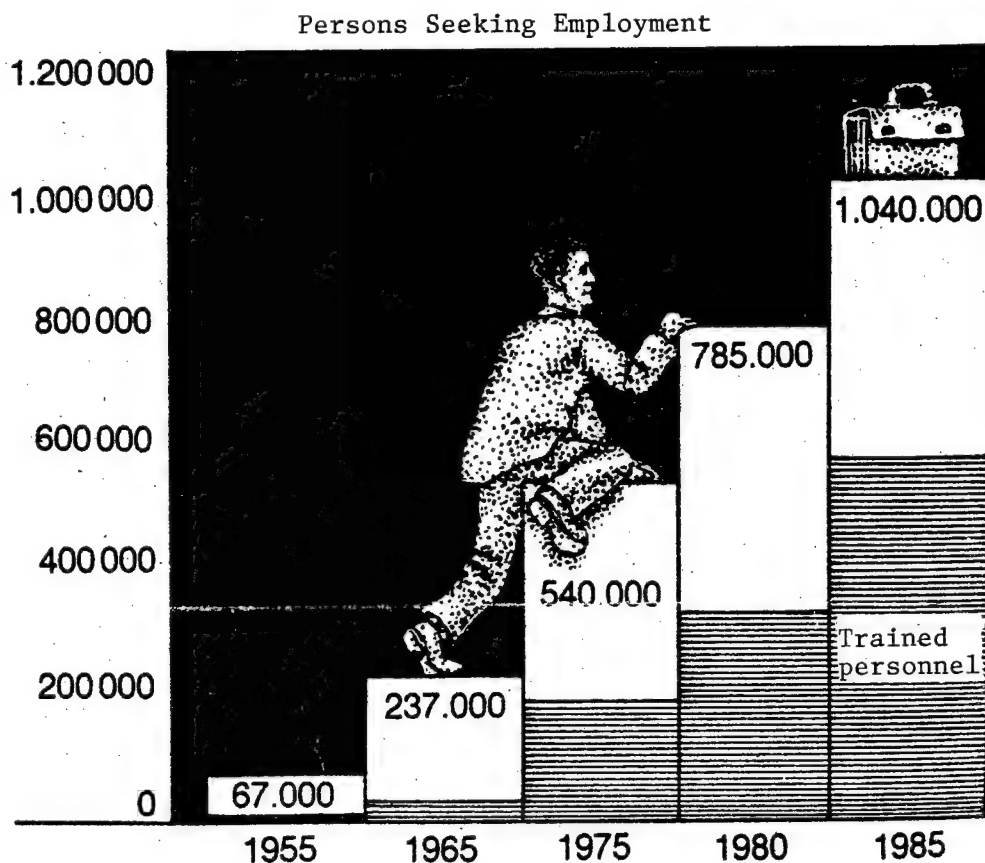
Ordinary people feel all of this quite keenly on their own hides, since in the age of communication we live in one can always make comparisons with others. This obvious difference to our disadvantage was not so hard to take earlier, since in the period of our relative prosperity, which now turns out to have been a false prosperity, the standard of living was still rising every year, so that one could harbor the illusion that we were coming closer to the rich around us. Yet that was only an illusion which perhaps was fed by facts such as the number of television sets and refrigerators, which are possessed by more than 80 percent of households in Yugoslavia, while the West European average is 99 percent. We have not come closer to the rich in any other respect pertaining to the standard of living except with respect to the number of university students who know in advance that they will not find jobs.

One out of every nine Yugoslavs, but one out of every three Germans, Austrians, French, or Belgians owns his own car.... There is a washing machine in 60 percent of Yugoslav households, but in over 90 percent of European households. Barely 1 out of every 50 households in Yugoslavia has a dishwasher, but the figure in Europe is higher than 1 out of every 3....

Differences in Poverty

Since the car started to roll downhill, and the more imagined than real standard of living has dropped at least one-fourth in real terms, it is quite natural that there has been more said about social inequities. It is a simple matter and very much to the point that the general impoverishment, the dictatorship of mediocrity, and the elevation of the ideal of averaging everyone and everything--only augments social inequities. They were smaller and bothered us less when we had more. The fact that the fall into poverty increases them only proves that in still greater poverty social inequities would be still greater, all the way to that final difference when one man at least has a piece of cornbread, while the other man goes hungry; that is the true difference, a much greater one than when the first one has an apartment with an area of 100 m² and a Mercedes, while the other only has a one-room apartment and a little Fiat. When seen through the viewfinder of hunger--both represent unattainable wealth.

So where do these large social inequities we have at present come from, and what is the reliable way of overcoming them so that all are richer? Of course, this aspiration sounds utopian at a "misery index" higher than 100. However, since all the elements in Klein's formula depend essentially on work and the use of available resources, it follows that the ugly sum of inflation and unemployment can be reduced by intelligence and diligence. Since it is more than clear that many of the norms which prevailed earlier yielded baneful results, it is a real wonder that there still is not enough social energy to shatter some of the dangerous dogmas and blockades which are having a direct impact on the level of the misery index in Yugoslavia.



Source: Federal Bureau for Statistics.

Trailing Behind

This is all the more surprising because both specialists and laymen see with the naked eye that Yugoslavia borders on certainly extremely efficient economic systems in which there has been no inflation of disturbing proportions or it has been successfully tamed, where the issue of creating new jobs is raised incomparably more sharply, and yet it is dealt with. In one generation we have seen some depart to unattainable distances, and we are beginning to trail behind even some whose standard of living we spoke about with ridicule until just yesterday. The most astounding thing is to realize that this apparently does not have much to do either with ideology or blocs: the Hungarians proved that.

Nor can Yugoslavia by any means justify itself with any external "objective difficulties." We are among the countries which have received the most foreign capital, no one told us how we were to spend it. In recent decades it is quite certain that no one was hindering Yugoslavia's development. That is why it would be insulting to accept the assertion which has been heard for a long time as a refrain in the form of an appeal, a demand, and a call "for better work," which automatically implies that production workers have not been working with sufficient self-sacrifice. If one looks at the statistics, that is in fact true, but it is not the workers who are at fault, as shown by the clear

and irrefutable fact that those same workers have been doing extremely good work in certain other economies.

The Road to Asia

Whether we like it or not, we have to relate the "misery index" of over 100 points to the system. Observations as to its inefficiency, as to the prevailing voluntarism instead of the natural laws of the market, as to the artificial division into republics, provinces, opstinas, and local communities, in which the rule is to "get your steaks by slaughtering someone else's ox," have been repeated so often even the sparrows have learned it. And the resolutions adopted at congresses have also included appraisal which until a few years ago no one would have dared to utter in public. But there have been no essential changes. Of course, one should realize that political processes rarely take place over night, and examples from the past show how a crisis in a country can last and mature for some 15, 20, or even more years. The appearance that in this system division and exclusiveness can bring a gain at someone else's expense, which automatically represents the first step toward nationalism, real personal interests and the fear of change, whether because of ideological blindness or a fear for one's own position, are not obstacles that are so very easy to overcome.

However, every postponement only increases the misery index and inevitably leads to greater aggravation and the decreed moment when the boil bursts because of fear of the scalpel. There are many examples, but probably the most impressive is the one with the producers of losses. It is clear that it would have been much easier to begin everything 2 decades ago, when the idea of bankruptcy as the natural and necessary way to purge the economic organism emerged for the first time in the unsuccessful economic reform, than today, when debtors have become impoverished, when enthusiasm and faith have gone flat, when there are 1 million people unemployed and as many again whom Europe may send back with relative ease, and in the future there would be another 2 million laid off if market mechanisms began to operate rigorously.

If one wanted to be thoroughly realistic, he would have to accept the fact that crises and upheavals, private and public, are an inevitable and natural phenomenon to which no one is immune. Let us take that view of our present moment. But no one can any longer expect a reprieve from the fate which moves us from Europe to Asia or to the worst part of South America on the basis of the physical basis of life. With monthly earnings of \$160 and the worst economic situation in this part of the world, these persistent attempts to maintain mass hypnosis and illusion, which have been trying to make a gold coach out of a peasant cart, seem pitiful. There really no longer is any sense at all for us to compete in presenting the astounding facts and in criticizing the present situation. But let us compete in making some real changes!

7045

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MILITARY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OFFENSIVE NATURE OF NATO CHEMICAL WEAPONS ALLEGED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 30 1986 (signed to press 21 July 1986) p 6

[Article by Lt Col Heinz Rabe: "Big Eye for the Intruder"]

[Text] "The until recently unanswered question of the extent to which the NATO governments want to take part in a possibly necessary decision to use chemical weapons or of the extent to which the SACEUR [supreme allied commander in Europe] is to have a free hand has now been cleared up. It apparently must remain a secret how this took place." This guesswork in the 26 April 1986 issue of the NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG refers to the supreme NATO commander in Europe, the SACEUR, U.S. Gen Bernard Rogers.

It is to remain a secret to what extent in an aggressive war—for which he and people like him are preparing—he would have a "free hand" to turn Europe into a gas chamber. For the 460,000 chemical grenades and 28,000 "Big Eye" chemical bombs that the United States wants to begin producing in 1987 for use in Europe and that will further increase Rogers' weapons arsenal are sufficient to do that.

In May, the NATO command boards gave their approval for the commencement of production of these so-called "binary weapons" whose two chemical components do not combine into a weapon of mass destruction until flight or during the drop. This decision made under pressure by Washington had the actual effect of undermining the acceleration of negotiations on a prohibition of chemical weapons agreed to at the Geneva summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

The question of the Swiss newspaper may be answerable by referring to Rogers' role during the American aggression against Libya in April of this year. The barbaric bombing of peaceful Libyan cities occurred under his command. He had a free hand in this. Washington's excuse was that Rogers had acted as the supreme commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe and not as the European NATO chief. As though the victims of an aggression would ever be interested in the capacity in which he allowed bombs or poison to rain down on them. The disastrous role of precisely this U.S. general and Washington's dictate in binary weapons in NATO make clear "the tendency toward a continuous increase in the danger of war," as stated by the 11th SED Congress, and those causing it.

Comparable to Nuclear Weapons

What are the driving reasons for the introduction of new chemical weapon systems in the U.S. Armed Forces? For one thing, it is the obsolescence of part of the existing stocks of "traditional" chemical ammunition. There are no longer any guns for certain calibers such as the 105 mm. In addition, there are growing dangers as a result of storage damage to the containers of chemical agents. By the way, Washington's largest overseas chemical depot is in the FRG and includes about 100,000 gas grenades, according to the 26 May 1986 issue of the SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

Instead of having the mentioned problems be the point of departure for steps toward disarmament, Washington chose the opposite path. An increasing incorporation of chemical weapons into the warfare guidelines for the American armed forces has been apparent since the beginning of the 1980's. Military experts and leading military people of the United States now put modern chemical weapons on a level with nuclear battlefield weapons. The March 1982 edition of the magazine STRATEGIC REVIEWS confirmed that with these words: "Under the standards of military effectiveness, chemical weapons could be compared with low-power nuclear weapons. EUROPÄISCHE WEHRKUNDE, under the control of the Bundeswehr command, pointed out another aspect as early as 1978: "Chemical weapons," it stated, "hold a unique and special position in the family of modern battlefield weapons in that they are effective only against living beings. They wound and kill without destroying equipment and facilities." As everyone knows, the same perverse argument was used for the introduction of the neutron weapon into the American armed forces.

The British chemist and toxicologist Dr Alastair Hair from the University of Leeds warned that the "civil population would carry the main burden in the use of chemical agents. "There are," he said in an ADN conversation at the beginning of June 1986, "American estimates on the number of victims in a war with chemical weapons, according to which there would be 20 civilian victims for each soldier." Are those the premises from which General Rogers is proceeding?

"Massive and With No Early Warning"

According to their American advocates, however, chemical agents have one defect that could critically limit their effectiveness. That involves the possibilities for a successful chemical defense. The adherents of chemical warfare want to counter it through the surprise use of chemical weapons, which in the meantime have been integrated into the operational guidelines of the American armed forces. That relates to the army doctrine "Airland Battle" (ALB) in effect since 1982 and made into the field service regulation "FM 100-5."

According to our 14th SED Conference of Delegates, the "air-land battle is to begin with offensive operations against the first echelon of the Joint Armed Forces and simultaneous strikes into the depth of the strategic deployment. In addition, there are plans for the simultaneous and interdependent use of nuclear, conventional and chemical agents. Thus the "FM 100-5" deals with the

operational advantages and operational and functional capabilities of chemical agents in direct connection with those of nuclear weapons: "Nuclear and chemical weapons will dramatically change the possibilities for sudden changes on the battlefield, changes that the attacker can exploit." According to Chapter 9 ("Offensive Operations"), the use of chemical weapons of mass destruction is foreseen for the very beginning of the aggression: "With sufficient support through nuclear or chemical agents, the exploitation of the success of the offensive can begin shortly after the attack itself."

Is that by any chance a doctrine that testifies to the--readily affirmed publicly--defensive character of NATO? And how "defensive" is one to understand that guideline of the "FM 100-5" that states that chemical agents attain their optimum effectiveness when they employed "massively and with no early warning?"

Test in July

The binary weapons are coordinated with the "air-land battle" concept. Thus the 155-mm artillery grenades are to contain binary GB (sarin), which is nonpersistent and is supposed to guarantee that advancing American troops will not be harmed in terrain contaminated by their own chemical bombardment. They want to arm the "Big Eye" bombs with the persistent VX nerve gas so as to guarantee a longer effect on the enemy in the hinterland. NATO officially includes the "Big Eye" in the "capacity for strikes in the depth." Tactical aircraft such as the navy fighter bomber A-6 "Intruder" serve as carriers. In this connection, the INTERNATIONAL WEHRREVUE issued in Geneva reports in its June edition: "The A-6 of the U.S. Navy has been cleared for the use of the new binary chemical bomb Bigeye." The second phase of the tactical test is to begin in July 1986, hence now.

According to information issued 8 April 1986 by Dave Roe, Pentagon director for NATO affairs, contingency plans for a stationing of binary weapons in the FRG have already been completed. The claim that this is to occur only in the "event of a crisis" gives rise to doubts and protests. After all, it is well known how (and how quickly) Washington causes international crises.

The 26 May 1986 issue of the SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG names 2 weeks as the transport time for 460,000 gas grenades and 28,000 gas bombs. The question of whether the diabolical material will be brought back to the United States after the crisis has not yet been answered by any U.S. official. The gas strategists are planning secretly and sinisterly.

*

The vital interests of the European peoples are met all the more by what is called for in the communique of the 11 June 1986 meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact in Budapest: "Elimination of the chemical weapons as well as the industrial base for their production before the end of this century." An appeal is made to the NATO countries to forego the implementation of the plans for the production of binary weapons--an especially dangerous variant of chemical weapons--as well as their stationing

in Europe. In this connection, there is also the proposal of the GDR and CSSR made to the FRG on negotiations to establish a European zone free of nuclear weapons.

Our continent does not need a chemical reequipment, which, by the way, is the second arms spiral since the rocket decision. It needs a change of thinking. Still, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Luxembourg have already spoken out against a stationing of Washington's new chemical weapons in their territories.

9746

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MILITARY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TECHNICAL SUPERIORITY OF U.S. WEAPONS CHALLENGED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 31 1986 (signed to press 28 July 1986) p 7

[Answer to question by reader Olaf Berger: "Do Computers Give Imperialism Military Superiority?: Is Imperialism in a Position to Translate Its Scientific-Technical Possibilities Into Military Superiority?"]

[Text] VOLKSARMEE responds:

Without doubt, Comrade Berger, scientific-technical progress plays a substantial role in imperialistic thinking. After all, the most aggressive forces of imperialism do harbor the illusion that they have technological superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies and that they can convert this into a military superiority.

In answering your question, Comrade Berger, two aspects seem essential. The first aspect: it was above all the Soviet Union that--through the greatest efforts as well as sacrifices--established the approximate military strategic equilibrium. As history proves, the Soviet Union and its allies have always found the means to respond in time to the imperialist striving for superiority. As everyone knows, it was not in the United States but in the Soviet Union where the foundation was laid for the concept of the multistage rockets and where the first experimental rockets of this type were built. In addition, evidence for world-renowned Soviet pioneer work includes the first sputnik, the first manned space flight, and important contributions to the theory of chain reactions, light and radio waves, and to the discovery of the transuranic elements or laser beams. Soviet scientists also achieved recognized masterly performance in the fields of aerodynamics and in almost all modern technologies in metallurgy.

And what was the case in the past, Comrade Berger, is all the more possible under the current state of economic and scientific-technical development. The United States has neither invented nor monopolized scientific-technical progress. On the contrary. "What leaves the production sites of the Soviet defense industry," according to our 14th SED Conference of Delegates, "need not fear comparison with the combat equipment of the imperialist armed forces. Such weapon systems as the strategic nuclear weapons carriers of the USSR including the Typhoon submarines and the Soviet long-range bombers, the tactical and intermediate-range rockets, the T-type tanks, the BMP-2, the

modern self-propelled howitzers of calibers 122 mm and 152 mm, the most varied means of antitank and antiaircraft defense, the aircraft of the new MIG and SU types, and the helicopter carriers of the fleets, for example, are characterized by high reliability and precision, an increased degree of automation, and improved safety features."

And the second aspect: precisely scientific-technical progress is now being promoted decisively in the socialist countries. Here one must name above all the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which initiated a new stage in the development of the Soviet economy. The international balance of forces will thereby change substantially in favor of the Soviet Union. But the other socialist states are also contributing. The 11th SED Congress was able to state, for example, that the "intensification of production has become the decisive basis for the increase in output" in the GDR, not least thanks to the utilization of new scientific-technical findings. This introduced a new stage in the revolutionizing of productive forces in our republic.

In that the peoples of the socialist community under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties are making progress in the common course of intensification and are increasing labor productivity, as was set forth by the CEMA summit meeting in July 1984 as well as in the complex program for scientific-technical progress through the year 2000 that was passed in December 1985, they are establishing indispensable preconditions for strengthening socialism, stopping the imperialist course of confrontation, and maintaining the peace. So the most aggressive circles of imperialism will have their way neither today nor tomorrow, Comrade Berger.

9746

CSO: 2300/513

POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARCHITECTURE, MURAL ART DISCUSSED AT HUNGARIAN SYMPOSIUM

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ARTA in Romanian No 2, 1986 publishes on pages 39-40 a 2,000-word article by Vasile Dragut reporting on the proceedings of an international colloquium held in October 1985 in Hungary under the auspices of the Union of Plastic Artists. The colloquium centered on the theme "Mural Art as a Form of Humanizing Urban Space." Over sixty artists, art historians and architects attended, mostly from Hungary and the USSR. A dozen or so papers were read. It is not mentioned whether any Romanians delivered papers or took part in the program.

Dragut gives summaries of some of the papers presented, as follows: Andrei Vatznietzov from the Soviet Union discussed the relationship between the plastic artist and the architect, commenting that the latter often fail to take into account the needs of the former when planning a building. Addressing the related issue of decorative murals, Stella Bazaziantz, also of the USSR, "insisted on the idea that the space inside a theater must be so treated as to enhance the atmosphere of theater events." The Hungarian painter Janos Fajo discussed the social function of art, noting that "urban projects often ignore the social function of colors." The Hungarian art historian Dr Sandor Lang "brought up for discussion the matter of freedom of creativity" pointing out that although "there are many valuable works, despite complete artistic freedom, still many others are unsatisfactory, owing to the attitude of the artist and the degree of responsibility he accepts. Artist and architect must collaborate, from the very beginning of a project, to attain the goal producing a habitable building." Vatznetzov also commented on this issue of freedom of creativity, noting that such freedom will not "absolve the artist of responsibility; on the contrary, only amateurs can avoid responsibility. Artists must serve mankind, must provide beauty as is expected of them." In his concluding remarks, Istvan Kiss, President of the Union of Plastic Artists, "urged that the errors of the new urbanism must be overcome, that quality as well as quantity must be taken into consideration in creating a living environment. Artists and architects must collaborate more closely to make the cities of the future more beautiful."

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CSO: 2700/290

POLITICS

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST SECRETARY ON MEDIA BLACKOUT OF 15 MARCH DEMONSTRATIONS

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 25 May 86 p 16-17

[Interview by Peter Berkes with Istvan Hajdu, Secretary of the MSZMP Budapest Committee: "Reality-Ideology-Information"]

[Text] Istvan Hajdu, who was elected on 24 February of this year as the secretary in charge of ideological matters of the MSZMP Budapest committee, is by training and profession an electrical engineer. "Above and beyond the fact that I continue to like my profession, it is undoubtedly to my advantage to have a work situation, life situation, in which--using a poor expression--I am a small person, an employee, one of a dozen." To which we must quickly add that in this "position as a small person"--while his primary function is as a member of the scientific sub-department of the Central Committee, as well as the first secretary of the 9th district party committee--he is one of the productive research engineers involved in the Vega program, and today, as the secretary in charge of ideological matters he has his own, frequently used "research desk" at the Budapest Polytechnic University.

Even if his career has not been usual, it has been typical. Born in 1945 in Ozd, Istvan Hajdu grew up in Dunaujvaros (under construction at the time), was a high school student in Szekesfehervar, which was just beginning a renewed urbanization, and in the mid-1960s came to the Budapest Polytechnic University where activities opened a new epoch and produced the third great generation of party workers. He received an even more concentrated taste of the heroism and snags, the victories and defeats involved in the building of socialism than did the average Hungarian. The movement cleansed of distortions and the political work stripped of illusions are present as a natural part of his life and on an equal level with his occupation as an engineer; they are finally assuming the primary role--as a result of the assignments he has received.

[Question] We hear and talk a lot today about the fact that we have problems not only with the building of the economy and society, that is with the reality of today, but also with the interpretation and explanation of this reality. Is ideology keeping pace with our practice, which is often radically changing or is ready for change?

[Answer] I could say that we have made progress in the disclosure of the real situation, in the honest, open expression of our problems. The trouble is that we usually stop at this point, and we do not get to the point of uncovering and expressing the reasons for the problems, and thus we have little chance of making progress. But there is another problem as well. It appears that we have begun to be conscious of the fact that we must at times live a speeded up, inconsistent life-style and make decisions which are short-range and entail great risks, ones, that is, which are not absolutely safe. But while we are beginning to take on this rhythm, clear, unequivocal, and easily understood explanations are not given or are late in coming, and consequently many people view our basic socialist values, accomplishments, and the fixed tenets of our ideology as wavering.

[Question] Doubtless a kind of ideological gap does exist--at least occasionally. I think that here also the main question is: What is the reason for this?

[Answer] Ideological ammunition is largely supplied by the social sciences, of course, frequently commissioned and relayed by political life. Well, in the act of commissioning as well as in the activities of the social sciences, what dominates is the striving for open, multivariant, full-valued, and quick situational evaluation, that is, the critical function, and this has produced numerous valuable results. In relation to this, however, the revelation of causes, the preparation and foundation of decisions can look back at few successes. There are no theoretical obstacles in this activity; it is simply something which has to be learned, and the process has to be accelerated.

[Question] I believe that these questions are also connected to the demands, voiced with increasing frequency and urgency, for the modernization of our socialism-image.

[Answer] That is correct! One of the basic conditions for progress is exactly eliminating the time-worn elements and solving the contradictions in our socialism-image. But here again the danger of hastiness and superficial judgment is considerable. If we are too hurried, cavalier, and summary in labeling our earlier theses as illusions, many of our important and viable fundamental precepts can also fall victim, even though we cannot and must not give those up, even if the passage of time damages some of them. For example, we cannot desert the principle of honest work and proportional material remuneration, even though this is a principle which takes a beating nowadays.

[Question] Perhaps because the adjective "honest" does not cover our requirements sufficiently?

[Answer] Yes, yes; indeed, it does not. Undoubtedly, we must also use terms such as effective and useful, the contents of which are, of course, not permanent. What we considered useful twenty years ago, or last year, is not the same as what we consider useful today, and the content is likely to change again tomorrow.

[Question] Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that in this situation the role of information and press is particularly great, whether we consider their activities in relaying policies, or in their independent revelation of situations and causes. Although there are other channels as well, the majority of people receive--or fail to receive--their information about the affairs of the country and the world from the mass media.

[Answer] May I be allowed, first of all, to emphasize the independence of the press. True, the press of any given period is in the service of the prevailing political authority, as one of its instruments. But it is a peculiar instrument, with peculiar methods and a peculiar mechanism of effects. Earlier, one of the major mistakes of the press leadership was exactly the disregard for these peculiarities and the forcing of the press to adopt alien practices. I am convinced that by now this is behind us. Today even political life increasingly recognizes and utilizes the peculiar and exceptional potentials inherent in the press. In my view, the art of publicity, press-work, is an independent creative activity which can only be effectively pursued in an atmosphere of responsible freedom, which also means that the best experts of such responsible, free creative activity are those who are professionally involved in it.

And let me add something else to this: There has been a radical change in the expectation readers have of the press. They no longer simply expect the faithful translation of political events, the decent, honest, well-meaning relaying of news-matter, but something more: that the issues be open for debate, that there could be continuing thought devoted to events, that independent judgment could be formed, and that the press acquaint them with the thinking of society's leaders. The satisfying of these demands is a social necessity and a condition of our progress, and this multiplies the responsibility of information specialists.

[Question] The great question is: Does the press have the opportunity and genuine freedom to satisfy these demands? To put it more precisely: in declarations and laws, our political leaders repeatedly affirmed the possibility and necessity for this type of press-work and a broad tolerance toward debates and adaptability. However, in practice, in the judgment of concrete issues. . .

[Answer] . . .the degree of perceptible tolerance is smaller, and the scope of freedom is narrower. Correct! Or should I say, of course? But there is no political hypocrisy behind this; it is not the case of a political leadership, purely for propaganda reasons, declaring good-sounding and democratic principles, while it ties the newsman's hands, regularly cautions him to remain silent on certain issues, or compels him to evade or ignore some topics. In addition to direct practical limitations, this issue hides a thought-provoking and perhaps most important problem area and dilemma of our propaganda activities. And this is nothing other than the unbelievably broad, multi-various, and changing nature of today's interest relationships. Let us take, for example, the trend toward independence in economics, culture, and throughout our society, which proceeds parallel with, and is encouraged and assisted by the main political trends, together with the correlated appreciation of local political processes, and the great increase of their

role and responsibility in the shaping of the future. This, in itself, is accompanied by numerous worries and pain. It is much more difficult and potentially more conflict-ridden to make independent decisions, take the initiative, and accept the risk of making mistakes in the local political process, than it is to simply worry about the ways and means of executing the will of central authorities. What is important in our case is that this process is accompanied by the appearance of numerous local interests, and these interests increase the significance of any information concerning themselves, making their very existence dependent on even the smallest news items. Well, the declared freedom of the newsman is narrowed by the operation of these interests. Years ago, he only had to "face off" the highest leaders in order to obtain or publish an item of news; today he must be responsible to a thousand and one forums, communities, and area managers. At the same time, of course, he bears much of the responsibility not only for the publication of the news item, but also for all of its consequences.

[Question] I beg your pardon, but all of this--though very much true and acceptable--is only half of the answer. After all, there are still plenty of cases remaining in the sphere of political leadership, very important cases which influence the evaluation and credibility of the entire political process; and in the treatment of these areas newsmen and the public alike sense a certain reluctance to open up, an extreme cautiousness, and uncalled-for objections.

[Answer] To express it in less moderate terms: they feel that they are treated as children. Or they think that--disregarding the consequences--we allow whispering campaigns, gossiping, or irresponsibly and unscrupulously libelous, lying, tendentious, and mis-informing enemy propaganda to take the initiative.

[Question] You said it, not I! But, no doubt about it, the problem recently arose in just such a sharp form. To cite a concrete and recent example, it arose in connection with the events of the past March 15 and the information released concerning those events. You were on the scene during the entire so-called "sting" that resulted in intervention by the police. What is your opinion concerning the "uncertainty of information" on this case?

[Answer] First let me answer the general question. I can state categorically: It is absolutely not true that the political leaders want to treat the citizens as minor children. However, it is their basic intention and their fundamental responsibility toward the nation, to handle every domestic event and occurrence connected with the country in proportion to its social and political significance, and to issue information according to this intention. In other words, they try to avoid both under- and over-information. The decision is particularly delicate and difficult in the case of activities undertaken with definite provocative intent, such as when a certain person or persons try to get into the newspapers or TV news, knowing that this is the only way their insignificance can assume at least the semblance of significance.

Of course, there are other considerations in the making of decisions concerning such information. One of these is preempting and defending against

whispering campaigns and the distorting and exaggerating effects of enemy news dissemination. These considerations demand that we provide information and quick, precise, and complete information, even in cases when the importance of the event would justify no news item, or at most a brief item concerning action taken by the police in a traffic incident. Undeniably, there is a chance in cases like this for someone to make subjective, faulty judgments and to miscalculate.

[Question] Such as in connection with this March 15?

[Answer] I accept the risk involved in answering your question with a yes. In my view, for example, the statement made long after the events by one of the KISZ secretaries in the News-Background program of the radio could have, and perhaps should have, been broadcast on the evening of March 15.

[Question] But, since it was broadcast when it was broadcast, the hearsay spread according to the laws of gossip and considerably embellished by enemy propaganda made it appear to be too little. Finally, could you tell us, based on what you saw, what happened on March 15?

[Answer] The event has no elements which could not be openly and honestly discussed. Let me state in the beginning that the organizers of the celebration have worked hard, and in my opinion successfully, in order to make the content and form of the ceremonies fitting to the memory of 1848, to its Hungarian national character, to its continuously living spirit, and, last but not least, to the expectations of our youth. I have participated in the celebration on numerous occasions. Along with others, I had to concur that the affair was respectably "formulated," and that it satisfies even the most demanding expectations. Except for those ill-willed demands that--for who knows what reason--wish to utilize March 15 for arousing nationalistic, anti-socialist, and even anti-humanity mood, for creating disturbances and even demonstrations. And since this type of ill-willed intent obviously cannot be given free reign or even a semblance of encouragement during the central festivities, its representatives try to infiltrate the spontaneous march of celebrating youth.

After all, young people--driven by enthusiasm, the joy of being together with others, the pleasant weather, or simply in order to have the feeling that they celebrate on their own, and not merely because the festivities are organized--usually want to march; just like that, together with others of the same age, in the same manner and on the same streets as the youth of March 1848 had done. There are no principles at stake here, the organizers count on this happening each year. The whole thing is a practical issue. After all, marching in mass through the streets of a large city, without prior arrangements, is not a simple matter. In spite of this, and with the utilization of considerable extra work, for years now such spontaneous marches have been permitted.

And this is not the first time the ill-willed elements have appeared among the marchers. There have been previous occasions when some entirely different marchers made their appearance, using the spontaneous celebration of the young for creating disturbances, nationalistic sloganeering, and open and direct

expressions of opposition to our policies. In order to create the semblance of a mass movement, they usually tried to mobilize the youth attracted to the scene primarily by the sense of potential trouble; these are the youth we may have seen hanging around the sports stadiums, throwing beer bottles and other objects, or tearing up the seats on the Metro. The issue has always been, can the malicious intentions of these people be neutralized by the celebration of well-intentioned youth? If people of good will dominate on the scene, then a few characters shouting anti-socialist slogans, making fools of themselves, or even banging on the cars trying to pass by, will not make much difference--there will not be any disturbances, no policemen will intervene. This would be the case, until the sloganeering--ruining the celebration and taking priority over the festive majority--turns into a rampage and a definite disturbance of the peace, as it happened this year.

[Question] In a physical or political sense?

[Answer] It is difficult to separate the two, but I must say: primarily in the physical sense. By this time the political instigators were smart enough to disappear in the background and allowed the excited extras to take over. They were the ones who crippled the traffic around the Batthyany eternal flame, they sat down all over the roadway and surrounded a police car, loudly threatening its occupants; in other words, they created a situation which would incense every decent citizen, so that they would no longer be willing to wait patiently until the youth withdrew, but demanded the re-establishment of order in their city. Well, from that time on, it was a simple professional matter for the police. And I can honestly say that our policemen provided a fine example of how to eliminate a disturbance of this type in a swift, civilized, and effective manner.

[Question] According to this, there were no rubber truncheons used?

[Answer] Well, that is exactly it! Our policemen interfered in time, when there was still no need for a charge, or for the use of rubber truncheons. No truncheons were used. At most, there were incidents of shoving or dragging, which may occur anytime when the police check people's papers. Look, there have been cases at other times and in other places when the truncheons have been used. However, in each case there were diagnoses and court reports, because in our country these matters are kept within the limits of strict legality. In this particular case, there was no such thing. Nor were there many taken into custody: The police arrested only three people that day, and proceedings were initiated against a few. Many identification papers were confiscated, but, as it soon turned out, most of them from incidental bystanders who nevertheless attracted the attention of authorities by hanging around the scene. What can I say? Anyone who hangs around gawking becomes a willing or unwilling extra at a scene like that and is likely to become involved in a similar "accident." Well, this is what happened on March 15.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

13201

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

YOUTH ROUNDTABLE POSES PRICKLY QUESTIONS TO CC MEMBER

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jun 86 p 18-19

[Roundtable discussion with Istvan Huszar, Central Committee member and director of the Institute for Party History, and students from the Karl Marx University of Economics: Arpad Foltanyi, Bela Horvath, Gyorgy Csuti, Arpad Sebestyen, Zoltan Papai, Miklos Andrasi; representing NEPSZABADSAG was Laszlo Hovanyecz, deputy editor-in-chief: "They Ask Istvan Huszar: How Does Our Society Stand When It Comes To Opportunities?"]

[NEPSZABADSAG] The theme of our conversation is the future of Hungarian society. How do the participants see this future; what kind of problems do they foresee in it? What do they consider uncertain and promising?

[Question] Whenever one thinks of the future, one cannot escape one of the great problems of the present, the problem of our foreign debt. This casts its shadow over the future of Hungarian society and that of our generation, that is, a generation that says: I had nothing to do with the creation of this debt.

[Answer] I mention not as a consolation, only a statement of fact, that this is not a specifically Hungarian problem; there are many countries which have as large or even larger debts than we do. One can observe several different strategies for handling this issue, for coexisting with debts. There are places where they wish to get rid of debts quickly by repaying them. However, this causes disturbances in the production process and the supply of consumer goods, that are intolerable in our society. There are also instances when debtor countries deny repayment or request re-scheduling of payment. These are not for us either.

It has been a few years since we initiated the course that we found acceptable. As honest trading partners, we have been making our payments, and in the meanwhile we preserved our creditworthiness. We have withstood the pressure and will continue to do so.

Of course, it also matters what the structure of these debts is; how much of them are short- or long-term, what are the conditions of repayment, for what do we use these outside resources and how efficiently? It also makes a difference if we make our payments by submitting ourselves to exporting

compulsions, that is, do we ignore the real production cost of an item because we must have hard currency income? If this is the case, it can have a negative effect on our development concepts and the strategies of our society.

Indeed, members of the young generation are "innocent" when it comes to the creation of these debts, but can we in fact talk simply about "guilt?" I doubt it. Many facilities and opportunities have been created by using money thus borrowed, and today's youth uses these.

[Question] The answer concerning our debts is acceptable. However, the issue of social strategy appears to be more complicated. It seems that when it comes to correcting our economic problems, we do not use a strategy. As a sort of budding economist, one feels that these problems are only superficially treated, and the thought may again occur to one that our future is not on the most solid of foundations.

[Answer] Nowadays it is fashionable to state that we do not have a social strategy, or to declare in general that there is no political concept that would embrace our society, including economics, culture and everything else, in terms of a well-defined concept of the future.

Of course, this fad did not come into existence without reason. Given the size of the country and the openness of our economic, political and cultural life, a number of political actions and direct political interventions occurred in divergent areas during recent years, that appeared to demonstrate the absence of a strategy, even though it is not so difficult to discern elements of strategy in our actions. I hasten to add here that I am not talking about a strategy which embraces or controls every element of our society's life. God protect us from such a strategy!

On the other hand, I am firmly convinced that only by having a comprehensive social strategy can one maneuver in a changeable world that is full of surprises. I use the term "maneuver" on purpose and--since we are talking about the future, the future of our young generations and the future that belongs to all of us--I will tell you in what sense. In a sense that the term "maneuvering" involves the posing of the following questions: What changes must I expect, what must I be ready for? In view of today's uncertainties, what am I afraid of, and why? If we keep these issues before us in formulating our social strategy, then it will become quite apparent that the course we must prepare for is not a straight-line development, and no matter how "long-range" a plan is, we must implement it in our everyday work. At the same time, it will also become apparent that the economic and political decisions we make today must point to the future, must coincide with our goals. Of course, it cannot be denied that the influence of daily compulsions influenced--sometimes quite severely--our policies. But if we look at the events of the past five or six years, we see that, in spite of the above, the strategic thinking was successful; after all, the basic considerations, aimed at the preservation of our achievements and a degree of advancement, have prevailed, which was not the case in every country similar to ours.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In order to evaluate our present situation, it might be helpful to use a historical comparison. It has been frequently said that seldom in our history have we been in a situation like today.

[Answer] Just off the top of my head I cannot undertake a historical comparison of our difficulties; for one thing, the situations are quite different. However, I can risk this much: If we only look at the most recent forty years, we can see that both immediately after the liberation of our country and after 1956 we were in a much more difficult condition than today. At this time we are facing different kinds of problems, and the too-general historical analogies scarcely offer any help in solving these. They do indicate, though, that at the time of every historical event the people who experience them feel that they live through the most difficult times in history.

[Question] All of this is even more of a problem for our generation because our experience has not provided us with a basis for comparison. We may hear it every day that our life is much easier than that of our fathers, our primary basis for comparison is what we see around us, and that in itself is not very reassuring.

[NEPSZABADSAG] It is said that man does not live by word alone, but he does not live by bread alone, either. It might be useful to go beyond economics and discuss other areas of society's life.

[Question] For example, democratic practices. One constantly hears that in our country democracy is developing. True: there is no topic that cannot be discussed openly. But there is another side to this. Let us consider the case of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak hydroelectric plant. I was not completely convinced about the feasibility of the project by the arguments published in the papers. Our generation expects to be informed about every significant issue from our own sources, and in time.

[Answer] I understand and consider this to be a just demand, confident that our policymakers feel the same way. Recently there have been many actions initiated by them, which previously could not have been put into effect. This time I do not wish to talk about the democratization of our political system; there has been plenty said about that already. Instead, I wish to mention two things.

During the early 1980s certain dissident groups brought to the attention of the public that the main problem in Hungary is poverty, and they formed an organization of a kind, the so-called Foundation to Aid the Poor [SZETA]. Radio Free Europe also supported this with a lot of propaganda.

We accepted the challenge and organized a scientific conference about the disadvantaged layers of society. Our starting principle was that we are not saying much by referring to someone as poor. After all, even a family of someone earning 15,000 forints may live in squalor if the head of the family is an alcoholic. We claimed that only the accumulated disadvantages can be scientifically, socially and politically quantifiable, while poverty is only the manifestation of these conditions. A great number of people participated

in the conference, they can testify that those SZETA-members who entered the discussions failed to distinguish themselves with their, to use an ironic term, poor set of arguments. The scientific results of the conference, on the other hand, have led to the introduction of several concrete social and economic measures.

There is another matter. During the 1970s there were numerous accusations levelled at our policies, according to which our actions are exclusively economy-centered and consider man to be nothing more than /homo oeconomicus/; as a result, our country leads the world in alcoholism, divorce, suicide and other depressing phenomena. In sum, our policies have been accused of being nationalistically irresponsible.

We knew what kind of distorting intentions led to these accusations, but we did not consider that important. Rather, we looked at the facts, and our policymakers encouraged the start of a complex research program, which came to be known as "Research Into Social Maladjustment." Even data that were the most unfavorable to us were given the broadest publicity, and--though such research could not lead to the overnight elimination of such problems--we have come to know them better and are now able to fight them more effectively.

The fact that these issues are handled with great publicity and that--instead of merely worrying about them--our policies initiate actions to concretely solve them, I definitely consider them as signs indicating the growth of democracy.

I consider it natural that the young generations want to accelerate the process of democratization. They have their own duties and opportunities in this process. For a long time now, our policymakers have wanted more from our youth than simple assimilation; rather, they wish to see an assimilation that at the same time also changes society. In other words, they want to see youth become more than a mere inheritor of values, they want to see them contribute to the creation of values as well. It is a different question that such a value-creating role is not always recognized at every level, but youth also must struggle in order to be recognized.

[Question] As long as we departed from the issue of bread in order to come closer to the problems of the word, it is worthwhile to bring up a issue that interests the young more and more. It is also connected with the future: What will become of the Hungarians? It is evident that our policymakers care about the fate of Hungarians within the borders. The degree of their care for Hungarians outside the borders is less evident.

[Answer] I am not given to citing others, but I would like to mention what was said about this issue from the highest source during the most recent congress of our party: "Here in Hungary we must work and shape our policies in such a manner that anyone anywhere in the world should be proud to be considered a Hungarian." I believe that this statement clearly expresses a crucial element of today's Hungarian policies concerning the issue of ethnicity. Our creed is free of nationalism, and we believe that our achievements at home can best contribute to the prestige and self-esteem of Hungarians living beyond our borders.

It is well known that we consider the ethnic groups living in this country and the Hungarians living in the neighboring lands to be the connecting links between peoples and cultures, bridges that bind the peoples of the Danube valley. In order to enhance this bridging role, we encourage all efforts that serve the study of our shared past. I consider it an important undertaking that we publish the history of the Hungarian people in a ten-volume series. It is important that we face the scientific debates which, if they remain strictly scientific, can only improve our acquaintance with our neighbors and thus our understanding of each other. I think it is important that in a small country such as ours a popular historical publication such as HISTORIA is sold in 60,000 copies. I consider it equally important that in the past few years we published many historical writings which deal with the events of recent history, such as Trianon and the post-World War Two period, in a straightforward manner. These and many other factors together brought about the fact that our understanding of the past is better now than ever before. I am convinced that only our policies, based upon historical thinking and thus stimulating a historical awareness, can be beneficial for Hungarians living beyond the borders and can make it possible for them to be loyal subjects of the countries in which they live, while also preserving their Hungarian consciousness.

[Question] In closing, I think that today's young generation--in part because of their lack of experience and in part because they have a certain kind of experience--misses the kind of encouragement that would help them feel that a rational future awaits them and Hungarian society. We see our own problems, those of the world, and those of the socialist camp. Even in our socialist environment we witness the crisis of values that were earlier considered infallible, and we see that in many instances market-based economy operates more successfully than ours. In view of these problems, what kind of encouragement can you offer us?

[Answer] It is probably due to the difference in our ages, and our experiences, that we see things differently. As I have mentioned earlier, my generation lived through some very difficult situations during recent decades, thus we view the world differently than you do.

Thus, for example--in spite of all our existing problems--I am optimistic about the future of socialism. There is a discernible reform process taking place throughout the socialist camp. Let us just consider the case of the Soviet Union, which is certain to positively influence development world-wide, and primarily in the socialist countries. Let me refer to just one instance: It is obvious that if the reforms make the relationships within the CMEA more flexible, this in itself will make the economic growth and technological development of individual countries more dynamic. Or, let us consider how different the relationship was between China and the other socialist nations just ten years ago. I consider the developments in China very favorable for the entire socialist cause. And there are other auspicious signs as well.

As for domestic affairs, it is undoubtable that the balance of the past three decades, including the recent five years, is positive. In my view, this is best indicated by the fact that our society underwent a thorough process of

integration. And I am not talking only about the national unity which has seldom been matched in our history. Equally to be valued is the fact that the integration of individuals into society is less and less based upon class determinants. All of this takes place amidst sharp debates, but this is natural; what is more, I dare say that the above-mentioned unity--which in no way implies a kind of uniformity--is the result of these debates.

In addition, our entire society, our entire political system, became more open. Our economic and political spheres have become open, in the positive meaning of the word. Today our society is administered not through voluntarist methods, but with the consideration of objective processes and social facts. We can truly appreciate this openness if we compare our conditions today with those between the two world wars or during the 1950s.

The listing of hopeful factors concerning the future of our society could continue. However, I believe that those I have mentioned here suffice to prove that my faith in the future is not based on some kind of an official optimism.

12588

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

POLITICAL REFORM SEEN NEEDED TO WIN OVER INTELLECTUAL YOUTH

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 5, 1986 pp 3-4

[Article by Agnes Kapitany and Gabor Kapitany: "Young Intellectuals--Present and Future"]

[Text] It is a cliché that the young intellectuals of today have not lived through spectacular historical transformations, they did not encounter the ideological reflections of sharp social confrontations at the time of their birth, and they have not been particularly driven to reform the world. They have grown up during a period of deceleration, which did not bring the dizziness of opening perspectives to the individual, but rather the valuable but petty measures of sobriety. This generation enters public life in such a time of deceleration when the spectacularly and convincingly concrete forms of progress, represented by technological development, continue to be associated with the advanced Western world, while socialism--claiming social superiority--has been forced to accept a secondary role in this sphere. This is a generation which grew up in the age of mass communications, in the world of Americanized mass culture, and one that was not stimulated in its maturation by the example of their immediate predecessors.

Members of this generation are faced by various possibilities. There is the attempt to become well-integrated executors, in which process even the first step, that of finding a position, is not so simple, if for no other reason, due to the limitations of economic life. The second alternative is integration in the hope that it will offer opportunities for changing the circumstances. However, this activity does not proceed beyond the formulation of abstract hopes; after all, the young intellectuals have precious few means (possibilities, knowledge, predisposition, etc.) to realize their transformation concepts. A further possibility is marginalization, together with all of its perils, its consequences seducing the young into adventures, and its existential uncertainty. And there is the kind of assimilation which goes hand in hand with broken lives: career alterations by giving up goals, or selling out by deserting moral principles. We are not pessimists but merely express an un-committed judgment derived from a certain familiarity with today's realities, when we claim that the number of lives distorted and spoiled in this direction is also too great, and it represents too much of a waste of human values.

The above possibilities have their ideological and value-inflections. Marginalization tends to favor anarchistic-oppositionist ideas, while conformity may lead to bureaucratism and anti-democratic practices which ignore the humanistic elements of socialism. Those who find assimilation at the expense of broken lives usually also find themselves in crises of values, and ideologically they become dishonest, cynical, or fatalistic. Constructive ideologies can be based only upon those who preserve the hopes for change; however, this also presupposes that the chances and the practical means for implementing change continue to survive. The defense and preservation of existing conditions is also an important social program, but as ideology, especially an ideology which mobilizes and attracts youth, they are quite insufficient.

In our opinion, the two main perils threatening young intellectuals, and through them the upcoming opportunities for social progress, are: choosing the side opposed to socialism, and--in a proportionately greater presence--indifference. Oppositionist tendencies may be strengthened by domestic difficulties, tensions between the layers of society, or global policy failures, while indifference is nurtured by tendencies to retreat into one's own private world with its pedestrian absence of perspectives, the proliferation of bourgeois ideals, and the sense of the individual's powerlessness in the face of society.

And, of course, both perils are made more potent by the formalization of ideological practice, the absence or falsification of enthusiasm, which, instead of attracting young intellectuals, repels a great many of them.

This is not a maximalist exaggeration. We must not place too much emphasis on factors contradicting the above claims, the examples of youth who have still been won over by ideology, the majority that approves individual manifestations of the ideology. For one thing, the kind of passive loyalty which characterizes the everyday majority in consolidated societies may be credited by socialist countries as a great achievement during the process of consolidation, but they cannot be satisfied with such loyalty when it comes to mobilizing their reserve energies. For another thing, a tactical course based upon passive loyalty, if it dominates for a long time, tends to initiate and maintain counter-selective mechanisms. And thirdly, we must also take into consideration that in crisis situations this type of passive loyalty frequently becomes fragmented.

Here, again, two persistent misconceived extremes oppose each other--the voluntarist avant-garde approach based on the "chosen," and the cautiousness which overestimates the value of stability. Because, after all, cautiousness is justified. If it is wrong to be satisfied with the passive loyalty of the masses, it is an even greater mistake to impatiently belittle the circumstances and status of society. Social organizations operate successfully if they provide opportunities for the simultaneous development of a mobilizing, intellectually militant avant-garde function, and a sense of being organized that permeates every cell of society.

In any event, it is a fact that right now there is a more urgent need for the first of the above two factors, and that the ideological influences aimed at

the young intellectuals are quite weak, and at times are even counter-productive.

Within youth organizations and elsewhere, the goal has long existed to make the forms of the movement come alive. It cannot be said that there was a shortage of honest attempts in this area. However, the situation remains that in spite of these attempts, no significant results have been achieved in the elimination of formalism, exactly because the desired changes do not depend primarily on the creation of formal elements. It makes little difference if the programs of festivities include performances by beat-groups, if the festivities themselves are empty and dishonest; not because the speakers are not serious about their topics, but because they do not address the issues which keep alive any community activity, the problems which actually occupy the interest of the given membership. (After all, traditions can be kept alive and spontaneous only by connecting them to such issues.) And the formalism of festive programs is but a reflection of the formalism occurring in the many elements of social existence.

Efforts to maintain stability are permanently necessary components of social organization; however, they tend to backfire if--in the name of stability--every initiative will become suspect and if--regardless of declarations to the contrary--nodding, soulless obedience is considered a greater virtue than independent initiative.

The organization of society demands the simultaneous consideration of many varying points of view. However, the synthesizing potency of leadership takes a negative turn if some members of society, who naturally do not have access to all information, are made to feel that they can never be considered truly competent, because they are not the ones who have a broad view of matters.

As for ideology, it must not be restricted by quantitative data. In the area of ideology it is impossible to fulfill plans, and assertions to the contrary are another source of formalism. If we hold meetings for party members because each year a given number of meetings must take place and a given number of topics must be covered, and not because the members have something to discuss, this leads to formalism. If candidates for party membership have to stand in line, not for the purpose of having their abilities measured, but because in the given region this is required by the desired membership proportion, then this is not the result of structural policies but of formalism leading to bureaucratic soullessness. If efforts to be precise in our statements are replaced by a striving for infallibility, this also leads to formalism. If functional considerations become subordinate to those of protocol; if in the solution of problems the realistic analysis of processes and the use of genuine social forces is replaced by moralizing homilies; if the relationship of an individual to various phenomena is judged not by the results of his actions but adherence to certain formal criteria; if party membership is not granted as a result of respect but prestigious positions are achieved because one is a party member (and, no matter what the central declarations say, this is a frequent practice), these are all phenomena leading to formalism. And formalism breeds bureaucrats and alienated individuals. Among young intellectuals, some of the most crucial sources of ideological conflict are just these bureaucratic-formalist elements, along

with the dysfunctional, irrational phenomena created by them in the various economic, cultural, or administrative spheres, which hinder individual and community initiative and the development of genuine social autonomy. And intellectuals are far from being the only group who reject the negative, ideologically counterproductive influences listed above.

Of course, it would be naive to claim that the above phenomena could be altered simply at will. But since we are talking about a problem-complex which is among the greatest worries of our society and is most instrumental in evoking negative feelings, we think that it is feasible to develop concepts which would lead to centrally guided and consensus-based reforms in this sphere (in institutional structure, organizational life, ideological and social aims, etc.) somewhat similarly to those introduced in economic life.

The above observation notwithstanding, we cannot ignore material problems either, as the declining standards of living during recent years have again warned us. Young intellectuals are particularly sensitive to social differences, and they tend to view them as representing social injustice. Unequal opportunities do represent injustice; it is quite another issue when, or whether, objective circumstances permit their reduction. Many young intellectuals, however, tend to bring up individual examples of inequality in criticizing the given political system; and this is in part because they are allowed to speak as external observers, that is, they are not sufficiently integrated as initiators of action into the social practice of moderating such inequalities.

Finally, in considering the effect of social circumstances upon the choice of ideologies and values, we must not ignore the substantive role of ideology itself. Undoubtedly, the influx of Western scientific and cultural products is an unavoidable condition for progress, while at the same time this also disseminates thoughts which are alien from socialism, or are even opposed to it. And here we must reckon with the conscious and intentional enemy activity, which is able to turn any objectively existing negative factor into a weapon against a given social system. Prohibition in itself is never sufficient to neutralize this. There are only two methods for successfully defending against such intentional or self-generating "propaganda": Either we do our best to eliminate those phenomena which can be cited; or--in the absence of objective conditions for this--we can strengthen our efforts by analyzing the phenomena more thoroughly than do our enemies, and simultaneously documenting why our explanations are more convincing and what are the true intentions of our enemies. In this effort, we must not rely on tried-and-true practices; each new phenomena must be analyzed and thoroughly understood. Our ideological work is not sufficiently offensive-oriented: By this we are not calling for increasingly loud efforts in our foreign policy, but for an ideologization, that is a Marxist analysis, of our existential circumstances.

Unless validated by reality, sooner or later any ideology fails, but it can provide considerable inducement if people find it practically useful in their everyday lives. People will not develop concepts of future and systems of aims because these are suggested to them by ideology, but it can undoubtedly plant the seeds for such concepts and aims. Similarly, passivity and

pessimism are not spread by ideology either, but ("Out of sight, out of mind!") if our ideology lacks certainty and perspective, this will have its disproportionately great influence throughout society.

It is especially important to use the methods of ideology in a society which is teleologically based, one that has long-range goals. What such a society constantly needs is not the constant repetition of its goals, but the most effective methods for maintaining a steady consciousness of those goals. And intellectuals are the segment of society that can best realize a portion of its social function by cultivating such consciousness of goals. In our view, therefore, an ideological offensive is necessary, and it is likely to occur: The issues of our age call for Marxist answers, in an ideological sense that strips the practice of its formalistic aspects and enables it to interfere with realistic circumstances.

In order to do this, however, today's approach must be changed in two directions: On the one hand, analysis of the young generation's consciousness indicates that there is a need for more conceptual initiative and the firm delineation of goals.

At the same time, in the performance of concrete functions we can rely much more heavily on individuals, assigning the responsibility of certain large tasks to them, and on communities from which the security of defined goals and the sovereignty of execution in the sphere of shaping society could bring out a great variety of individual abilities and possibilities. By sovereignty we do not mean an anarchic freedom; the uncontrolled liberation of energies does not contribute to the progress of any society. However, margins and limitations can be more precisely indicated and, paradoxically (?), a sense of freedom can be made more conscious by responsible (sovereignly responsible) practices than by uncontrolled liberalism. By reviving socialism and speeding up its rate of progress through shaping a genuine "basis-democracy" which relies on initiative "from below" in concrete tasks, it can again be made into an attractive example to be followed by the progressive forces in the Western world.

It is possible to base a program such as this on the young intellectuals, or at least on a significant portion of them. Members of this generation have a very strong need for knowledge and understanding, and these have never been inimical to Marxism. The absence of direct historical experiences is not only a shortcoming—it also assures freedom from prejudices. Young people are, by and large, open to any ideology which offers fresh and revealing thoughts and opportunities for action. There is another aspect to the unprejudiced nature of this generation: perhaps in the past because its members have received a strongly individualistic education, they consider its values to be natural, they use them, but at the same time they appear to be somewhat fed up with its uneven exaggerations, the blessings of extreme individualism. In any event, it appears that members of this generation are not primarily mobilized and ideologically influenced by a sense of limitation on their freedom and a demand for universal independence; quite the contrary, they harbor unfulfilled needs for more precisely defined goals, values, and norms which they could claim as their own, preserving their independence, in their lives. By now this generation is ready to oppose the exaggerations of liberalism, even

though not yet aware of this readiness or not yet consciously opposing liberalism.

The breakthrough in computerization could prove to be the central experience of this generation. This could represent a great opportunity, if progress in this area is combined with the exploitation of inherent social changes. (After all, in the long run these technologies could create the conditions for realizing one of communism's aim, the satisfaction of individual requirements; while in the context of society, if it is combined with the democratic transformation of institutional and hierarchical conditions, it could provide the means for the realization of genuine social autonomy, by making it possible for individuals and small communities to control nationally centralized information. Such development could provide great tasks for youth both in technological innovation and the shaping of society.)

These are tasks. Mature and significant tasks which provide a sense of mission, combined with the Marxist, that is strictly critical, analysis of reality's various aspects, and especially the transfer of such analysis into practice: The presence or absence of these conditions could provide the key to winning or losing the coming generations. To be sure, there may be times when the basic goals of socialism and its pro-mankind nature are temporarily served by solutions with which many people fail to emotionally and consciously identify, settling for "doing without knowing why" whatever is required by progress. For example, the post-1956 agricultural collectivization has been successfully accomplished without the conscious participation of people, who only subsequently realized its advantages and achievements. At other historical moments, however, the recognition of "decisive factors" can only be realized by mobilizing and convincing the broadest segments of society. It is possible that the present problems, compulsions, and dilemmas of our society can make such a solution a truly productive one.

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

EXPANSION OF TOURISM SEEN AS SOCIOPOLITICAL QUESTION

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 May 86 p 3

[Article by Racz: "The Development of Tourism Between Now and the Millenium"]

[Text] In the near future the Council of Ministers will discuss the concepts for branch and regional development in tourism reaching to the end of this century. The Ministry of Domestic Trade compiled a proposal for this debate, and the commercial committee of the National Assembly reviewed this proposal at its Wednesday session. In the course of the discussion, presided over by Rezso Nyers, the deputy minister of domestic trade, Imre Vincze, and the deputy minister of construction and urban development, Antal Jantner, made verbal contributions to the material to be discussed. It was expressed that the long-range conceptions are strongly influenced by two factors: in Hungary the tourism of the population is a socio-political issue; and our programs for receiving foreign visitors must be developed in accord with our political goals, and in an economic manner.

It is in the interest of each county to further develop domestic and foreign tourism and, parallel with it, the quality of commercial distribution in the various regions of the country--and this was illustrated by the unusually lively discussion among the deputies. The commercial committee invited several non-members to its meeting; thus it was able to form an even broader picture about what the residents of various regions think, and what should become part of long-range plans. For instance, Kocsard Vida (Somogy County) said that the usefulness of tourism is undeniable, but that new developments are needed in order to increase profits, and that it would also be worthwhile to review the taxation and subsidy conditions of firms involved in tourism. It would be inexpensive to set up student hostels in the elementary and secondary schools which stand idle during summers, and the kitchens of these institutions could also provide low-cost food for the students. Mihaly Bugan (Szolnok County) described the significant tourist attractions of the Middle Tisza River region. Mrs Istvan Bekesi (Pest County) called attention to the valuable, yet un-utilized, therapeutic waters in the village of Tura, located at the foot of the Godollo hills, and to the natural treasures of the neighboring region. Dr Ferenc Horvath (Somogy County) talked about the excellent nature settings of the inner Somogy region, while Dr Kalman Suto (Vas County) urged the development of tourist facilities in the Orseg border region.

The transportation problems of Kobanya, which is a market town, have not been solved, and the parking lots of the community are neglected--said the deputy of the local residents, Mrs Zoltan Csarnai, while Imre Szabo spoke "in the name of" Debrecen, Hajduszoboszlo, and the entire Alföld, pointing out that the already existing tourist facilities could be made even more attractive with small investments. More than one participant in the discussion asked for measures which would serve the interests of backpackers, walkers, water- or bicycle-tourists. Mrs Endre Nagy (Heves County) recommended that the village of Poroszló be turned into a resort center. Tamas Nemes (Komárom County) called attention to the approaching millennial festivities to be celebrated by the city of Esztergom, and to improving tourist conditions in that city. The following also spoke during the debate: Jozsef Polgardi (Pest County), Mrs Milutin Gazsityi (Baranya County), Mrs Karoly Toman (Borsod County), Laszlo Boros (Budapest), Mrs Lajos Bozso (Budapest), Karoly Hellner (Budapest), Mrs Laszlo Kopp (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County), Jozsef Pal (Győr-Sopron County), Zsuzsa Tarjan, chief associate of the National Council of Consumers (FOT), and Gabor Kelenyi, the deputy secretary of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

The opinion of the deputies was summarized by Rezso Nyers: They support the initiatives taking shape for the development of tourism. The yearly and quinquennial plans must earmark financial resources for the expansion of tourism and the improvement of the infrastructure. The Committee's recommendation is that opportunities for enlarging the Developmental Fund for Tourism, as well as the financial resources available to local councils for similar purposes (especially in popular tourist regions) should be reviewed. The Committee also urges the Ministry of Domestic Trade and other concerned ministries to settle the issue of operating the tourist hostels.

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

KOMMUNIST REVIEW OF KADAR SPEECHES WELCOMED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Aug 86 pp 3, 4

[Text] Academician P. Fedoseiev wrote an analysis on the book published recently in the Soviet Union containing the collected writings and speeches of Janos Kadar between May, 1979 and April, 1985. The analysis was published in the ideological magazine of the Soviet Communist Party, called Communist, issue No 10/1986. This is a short version of Academician Fedoseiev's writing.

Even the best ideology would turn into dogma if it was not realized and it did not become "richer" by the experiences of practice. Marxist-Leninist ideology is creative when it sets the trend of the revolutionary changing of old society and the building of a new one. The ideological work of the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and the other communist and socialist parties is a creative contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The same applies to Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a significant party- and state-leader in Hungary and an important personality of the international communist movement, author of the book published recently containing some of his writings and speeches. Comrade Kadar has been leader of the HSWP for 30 years, since the oppression of the counter-revolution and he has played an important part in the establishment and the realization of the party-direction.

Though the articles and speeches the book contains were written during the last period of these 30 years, through the author's statements and conclusions we can get a general view of the last 30 years of Hungary.

Janos Kadar, who was an illegal communist during the Horthy-regime and fought against fascism, became leader of Hungary in the most difficult period of Hungarian history after the war. As a result of Matyas Rakosi's "left-wing," dogmatic policy and the betrayal of the right-wing opportunist lobby, Hungary survived a very serious crisis in the 50's.

When the internal reactionary powers started an uprising in the autumn of 1956--abusing the "indulgence" of the right-wing opportunists and with the support of Western, imperialist circles--it was Janos Kadar who became leader of the fight for the organisation of unity, the oppression of the counter-revolutionary uprising, the re-organisation and strengthening of the party of the Hungarian working-class. The revolutionary government of workers and peasants was established at his initiative.

The process of stabilization and the strengthening of socialist principles in public opinion and social life started in a rather complicated situation. Under such circumstances the leader of Hungarian communists was working very hard and proved to have very firm ideological alignment.

He showed that he had a special ability to unite the working class and their party. The younger generations which were not yet living at the time, cannot imagine how complicated and difficult the situation was and what an important role those who were brave enough and understood these contradictions played. They found the right way of defending socialism--ignoring the lies of the opposition--and they realized this direction protecting it from the attacks of both the right-wing and the "left-wing."

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party drew serious conclusions and they placed the honest representation of the people's interests into the focus of their policy. They realized that they had to be in close relationship with the working class and had to fight against both right-wing opportunism and "left-wing" opportunism and dogmatism.

At the 13th congress of the party Janos Kadar said: "Our party is the revolutionary 'team' of the Hungarian working class. It is a Marxist-Leninist, patriotic and internationalist party. As a result of socialist development, the party, the party of the people, has become the leading power of our society. That is why we try to come up to this expectation."

The experiences of the HSWP show that the confidence and support of the people can be gained only by mutual trust and honest policy. Right from the start the HSWP has been trying to separate counter-revolutionaries from those who joined the opposition "by mistake." They do not regard those who do not agree with the party in certain questions as their enemies. On the contrary, the party thinks that people should be explained why things happen and so they never followed the dogmatic principle of "who is not with us, is against us" but instead they enforce the principle of "who is not against us, is with us." "Trust is the only way which can unite all those who agree with socialism--said Janos Kadar. - Trust is my "credo." It is my conviction that if we speak to people who do not know the principles of communism well and tell them that we need them, their help and we trust them, they will try and come up to our expectations."

This trust between the party and the workers--which was gained under most difficult circumstances--has not only been preserved by the party but also strengthened. The Hungarian Communists think that the people's trust in the party is not such a thing which can be gained once and for all but it should be strengthened all the time, in every period of development, every time circumstances and the policy of the party change.

As a result of the good relation between the party and the people, the party has achieved a most significant result. One of the greatest achievements of the revolutionary powers of Hungary is the establishment of socialism, the establishment of socialist society which includes also the successful development of industry and socialist agriculture.

Now we can say that an advanced socialist society is being built in Hungary. The country is now living in a new, responsible era when they change from extensive economic growth to intensive development and when the new requirement is efficiency and good quality. The party attributes great importance to scientific-technical development and they follow the principle that socialism and sciences should be allies.

The HSWP regards work in the field of economy as a basic activity of communists and they look for the new ways of the further development of economic direction. It is known that the Hungarian economic reform, their economic peculiarities and the relation of their economy with the world-market are analysed in different ways throughout the world. Janos Kadar said about Hungarian experiences: "The economy of the country--which includes several branches, fields and activities, cannot be managed the same way as a big company.... The strength and superiority of the socialist system should be accompanied by versatility and more efficient measures."

The experiences of the Hungarian agricultural development are of international importance. Over the years it has become an export-sector. A number of factors have influenced the success of the branch. One of them is incentive, that people are interested in social production and another one is the work performed by private farms. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party allows and incites private and group-activities meanwhile "watching" that private interests should not violate the interests of society.

The communists of Hungary think that it is a great achievement of theirs that socialist patriotism and internationalism have become part of public thinking. At the same time the party can also see negative features which are the results of counter-revolutionary rebel, the spreading of bourgeois ideas and of course, imperialist propaganda. The party thinks that the best way of fighting against these negative features is to give people ideological and political education, Marxist-Leninist propaganda and to explain the policy of the party in the building of socialism and international affairs.

However complicated life is and however many contradictions there are, the Lenin-type party has to tell people the truth in every period of development and their actions should be in harmony with their principles. The party has to be honest with people. "Honesty in politics--in a field of human relations where not just individuals but millions of people are involved--said Lenin--Honesty in politics is harmony between words and actions."

The Hungarian party led by Janos Kadar has always followed this principle. And the Hungarian workers and the whole of the Hungarian people, appreciate this. This honesty in their policy has been experienced by Hungarian people especially over the past five years. At the beginning of the 80's the party warned the people that in the future they would have to face serious difficulties.

As far as the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is concerned, it follows the direction of peace and cooperation, they support the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to improve world-situation, to

stop arms race and avoid another world-war. Speaking about the foreign policy of Hungary, the party-leader stressed: "Of course, the fact that our foreign policy represents socialist ambitions multiplies our power. We follow the same direction in our foreign policy as our nearest ally, the Soviet Union and the member-countries of the Warsaw Pact. We cooperate with all socialist countries and progressive powers in the world to enforce these ambitions."

Hungarian communists pay great attention to the ideological and practical activities of the Soviet Communist Party, they appreciate our Lenin-style and they take the experiences of our party into consideration. The fact that our party analyze historic achievements but also criticise them, makes people use their enterprise more and shows the great advantages and possibilities of socialism. This is in the focus of the attention of the communists of Hungary. Janos Kadar said at the 13th party congress: "The speeding up of the social and economic development of the Soviet Union is welcomed not just by the workers of the Soviet Union but also by all the supporters of social development and socialism throughout the world."

M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, stated with satisfaction when they met in June in Budapest that friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary was being developed successfully in the spirit of mutual trust and understanding. The traditionally good and honest relation of the Soviet Communist Party and the HSWP, the regular and efficient exchange of experiences and opinions play an important part. The two parties completely agree on all the basic questions of social development and international policy.

The HSWP takes into consideration the general rules of the building of socialism, Hungarian peculiarities and the experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries when pointing out new tasks and working out new methods. Their main ambition is to make the most of the advantages and the great possibilities of socialism.

These are the basic thoughts in the collection of Kadar-writings and speeches which shows how difficult problems Hungary had to and has to face in the various periods of development and how significant results the Hungarian people has achieved building socialism.

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

BOOK DEFINING 1950'S PERIOD OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jun 86 p 7

[Article by Gabor Imre: "The fifties"]

[Text] During the closing days of Book Week, I listened to a radio program entitled "How to Guard the Purity of Our Language," which, on this occasion, called the attention of young listeners to the significance of choosing a title and the potential dangers of poorly selected titles. It was also a radio report that informed me about one of the successes of Book Week: Balint Szabo's historical monograph. Its popularity may have been attributed in part to its title, "Az ötvenes évek" [The Fifties] (Kossuth Publishing House).

In a book aspiring to scientific credibility, the reader is justified to look for the definition of the title term—but this simply cannot be found in this case. I believe that this is not the fault of the author: After all, "the fifties" is not a scientific term, it does not indicate a defined historical period. Rather, it has entered public consciousness, whether we like it or not, as the collective name for the negative political phenomena that occurred during the first stage of our socialist development, casting a shadow on our undeniable achievements. And we can hardly alter this by prefacing it with the word "so-called," or by placing it into quotation marks. As Balint Szabo states, the term itself is "imprecise and misleading." It is best if we do not, or only infrequently, use it, especially not as the title for a historical monograph that is otherwise quite valuable. And especially not if the choice of the title results in contradictions that are politically disturbing. (My impression, by the way, is that the title and the preface that justifies the use of the term were added as an afterthought.)

But let us see how the author approaches the question. He writes in the preface: "In considering the goals of building socialism in Hungary, the "the fifties" in fact reach back further than 1950 and come to an end during the early 1960s. . . . From that time on, socialist production conditions became prevalent in every branch of the national economy. From this point of view the period between 1948 and 1962 forms a united entity." True, the author distinguishes several periods when it comes to the political course of the party, but this leaves the beginning and the end of the "fifties" unclear. Because the monograph, after all—not very consistently--discusses only the

first decade of socialist construction, from the turn of 1947-48 to the summer of 1957. Are these then those "fifties?"

The author himself disagrees with the approach that "... considers the years immediately following the liberation as part of the fifties." Why should we include here 1947-48, when "anti-Fascist democratic revolution developed into a socialist revolution." After all, the party's leadership deserted the course of Marxism-Leninism only after the end of 1948 (as this was observed in a timely fashion by the December 1956 meeting of the Provisional Central Committee of the MSZMP). And why should we include the period immediately after the defeat of the counter-revolution, when the process of consolidation was founded by a struggle on two fronts and within this a decisive course of action opposed to the political aberrations covered by the collective designation of "the fifties?"

The two alternatives are: In the narrower sense, the period between 1948 and 1953, when "the party's leadership, or more accurately the group that gained the leadership . . . deserted the principles of Marxism-Leninism"; or, more broadly, the extension of this period until the autumn of 1956, when the course of 1953 "... could not fulfill itself, . . . and somewhat later, the return to the earlier practices appeared as a threat, and at the same time the denial of basic socialist principles also appeared within the ranks of the party."

If we accept that the term "the fifties" does not cover a historical period but a political phenomenon, then it is useless to look for a definition. Therefore, it would have been better if the subtitle ("Theory and Political Practice in Hungary During the First Phase of Building Socialism, 1948-1957") had been selected as the title for the book. This would have reflected the contents more accurately.

However, it would be unfair not to go beyond the polemics concerning the title (and the preface) when discussing Balint Szabo's new book. Following many other, often subjective writings on the period, this monograph presents it by introducing incontrovertible data, archival material, and primarily party documents, and by supplying a rich body of notes. Some of these are published for the first time in this volume and provide new considerations for becoming acquainted with the contradiction-ridden policies of the Hungarian Workers' Party [the predecessor of the MSZMP]. The author is basically committed to revealing the mutual relationship between theory and practice, but he also provides lively pictures of the period's representative politicians during their declining decade. I refer to the Hungarian Workers' Party intentionally, because the final chapter ("The Foundation of the MSZMP's Policies and the Basic Principles of its Activity") could just as easily be the first chapter of another book.

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POLITICS

HUNGARY

PUBLIC UTILITY EXPANSION PAID, INSTALLED WITH PRIVATE FUNDS

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 8 Jun 86 p 32

[Article by Sandor Csavas: "Public Utilities, At Private Expense"]

[Text] The importance of public utilities in our lives is driven home only when suddenly something breaks down: there is no gas or electricity in our home, or water ceases to flow from the faucet. All residents take it for granted and consider it natural that in the inner city everyone has constant access to public utilities. When he turns on the gas-operated water heater, a resident of the Jozsef, Ferenc, or Castle district will scarcely consider that he could not do the same thing a few kilometers away, in Rakoscsaba--which is still part of Budapest--because there is no gas-line. (What is more, many communities in our country do not even have potable water lines. However, in this article we limit ourselves to reviewing the situation of installing public utilities at private expense in Budapest.)

Groups Being Organized

Until most recently, everyone in the country considered the installation of public utilities as the task of the state. In Budapest, the burdens and duties connected with this task have been assumed by the Capital City Council. However, a few years ago, things changed: true, at first only in the countryside. As less and less of the local councils' budgets were earmarked for the installation of gas- and sewage-lines, the example of water-cooperatives was followed, and the organization of groups for the purpose of installing public utilities began in earnest.

In Budapest 1982 was the year this was begun. That was when the Capital City Council decided to ask for the help of the residents in developing public utilities. At that time, there were plenty of sections in the city--primarily those which were annexed during the 1950s, i.e. the outer districts--where there were no gas-lines installed. What is more, there were sections--albeit relatively few in Budapest--where drinking water was not piped in, or even places where electric wiring had to be brought in.

As stated by the head of the relevant department at the Public Works and Excavation Directory of the Capital City Council, already at the time the program was put into effect the interest of residents in the areas involved

was much greater than expected by the experts. At the beginning, they intended to install approximately 5-6 kilometers of sewage lines, 7 kilometers of water lines, and nearly 90 kilometers of gas lines in the outlying districts. As the years passed, these plans kept gradually growing, and the seventh five-year plan contains proposals for nearly 300 kilometers of sewage lines, approximately 500 kilometers of gas lines, and 40 kilometers of water lines to be installed at private expense, with the support of the local councils.

The last observation is important, because the Budapest City Council, and--starting with 1 Jan 1986--the district councils contribute financially to the completion of such "private public-utilities." (Elsewhere in the country, such assistance has not come into vogue; there the costs of constructions are in fact entirely borne by private individuals.) The reason Budapest is offering financial assistance is in part due to the desire of the city's leaders to emphasize their earnest commitment to improve the quality of life for the residents.

The extent of financial support depends on the type of public utility proposed. In cases of so-called basic utilities--such as sewage collecting lines--the subsidy may be as high as 40 percent of the costs, while in the case of installing water-lines it is limited to 25 percent. The difference is largely due to the fact that one type of utility demands higher investment than another. For in every case the assistance extended by the councils includes construction material, which means that, on the one hand, the builders do not have to hunt down the materials, and also that they do not have to pay for them. Nowadays the labor cost of installing one running meter of sewage line is between 4-5,000 forints, the unit cost of a gas line is between 3,500 and 4,500 forints, while a water line costs less than 3,000 forints. (We have not mentioned electric lines, because in the capital city there are no plans for installing them in great volume. The total length of lines to be installed during the present plan period is under 10 kilometers.)

No Small Expenses

Data also reveal that, even taking into consideration the sizeable support provided by the councils, privately financed building of public utilities is not an inexpensive matter. Anyone joining an association created for the purposes of installing a public utility must reach deep into his pockets. And since nowadays not only the state budget is limited, but also the financial means of private citizens, the question arises: Is it compulsory for everyone to participate in these undertakings? The clear answer, as stated by the Public Works and Excavation Directory of the Capital City Council, is that no one can be compelled to participate in the construction of "private public-works," it is a voluntary activity, and anyone may refuse to join such undertakings. .pa

The Quality of Work

On the other hand, the district councils are entirely free to determine the conditions under which they are willing to assist in the completion of privately financed projects. For instance, the council of one district may insist that the work be 90 or even 95 percent organized before it is eligible

for assistance. There is a logical explanation for such a requirement: the council intends to protect the participants and distribute the load evenly; after all, the expenses have to be broken down into as many shares as the number of participants. And another important matter: anyone who wishes to have his dwelling-unit joined to the already existing public work, must pay his share of the costs to the council before he is issued a permit.

In closing, safety as well as other factors also make it important to consider the quality of work received for the money; after all, not only a state firm, but economic work teams and even private craftsmen may work on the projects. It appears that so far this aspect of the projects has been in order. This is in part due to the fact that there are more entrepreneurs willing to undertake work than available projects, and in part to the fact that a number of agencies, from technical inspectors to the Chief Directorate of Mining Technology, see to it that everything is put in its right place. If the inspectors find a mistake, they immediately suspend construction until the shortcomings are corrected. If an entrepreneur repeatedly breaks the rules, he may find himself "black-listed," preventing him from working in the capital city. Such things have already occurred in Budapest.

12588

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

WRITER SAYS FILMS NEED REVOLUTIONARY HEROES

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian No 29, 18 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Stefan Oprea: "The Impact of Movie-Making"]

[Excerpts] Revolution does not consist merely of struggling on the barricades to attain power; it means also peaceful work towards transforming man and society, towards building a new social order and a new awareness. The revolution continues in new, constructive forms and he who serves it is a revolutionary hero. The best movie-makers have well understood this aspect of the revolution, and regard it as a live, ongoing, dynamic process unique to contemporary Romanian society; through their thought and advanced actions put in the service of progress, the heroes of our best contemporary films are revolutionary heroes; to be revolutionary means to come up with something new, to act in a novel fashion against the routine, the commonplace and the well-trodden path, to put forward an idea which will open new horizons, new perspectives on aspects of life and work, never to accept laziness in thought or indifference to the vital problems of society, to be in the front ranks of any activity that entails progress, to struggle against inertia, old-fashioned and inefficient ideas. The majority of our films portray such heroes.

We also encounter on our screens--unfortunately, none too seldom--enough failures, films that promote the commonplace and the hackneyed, that confuse the revolutionary hero with characters which the realities of our life and art transcended long ago. Superficial screen writers and trivial directors still present their mediocre efforts on our screens, efforts of doubtful artistic taste put forward under the pretext of treating major themes. Slowly, these "works" are set aside and our movie-making ends up on the winning side of this struggle with mediocrity, placing itself in the front ranks of artistic creation, promoting a revolutionary aesthetics for an era of uninterrupted revolution.

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

OPINION SURVEY IN SLOVENIA DETAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 86 pp 12-14

[Article by Ljuba Stojic]

[Text] The Slovenian delegates at the recent congress of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia in the Sava Center went back home disappointed and misunderstood. Not a single one of the items on which they had been given instructions by the republic congress in Krsko had won support at the federal congress, and some had horrified people and were labeled suspicious if not outright hostile. It was out of the question to celebrate Youth Day differently than by the relay and presenting a spectacular pageant. Doing required military service in civilian life would jeopardize the country's readiness to defend itself in case of war, but also the role of the armed forces as an integrative factor of the Federation in peacetime. It is still early to abolish the death penalty and the verbal crime, and even in the case of building nuclear power plants a position should not be taken to prejudice the decisions to be made by the competent authorities.

A Restrained Patriotism

"What do the Slovenian young people want? Where do they get such ideas which are foreign to our society?"--were the disturbed questions heard from many rostrums in the recent past.

The first results of a Slovenian public opinion survey done this spring on a representative sample of 2,053 individuals from 210 local communities all over that republic, which have just been published, show that the youth delegates were actually expressing what is already present to a fair extent in Slovenia's political opinion.

Dr Niko Tos is a kind of "Slovenian Gallup." He began public opinion surveys of Slovenia in the mid-sixties, soon after the first Yugoslav polls in Belgrade. For a long time now there have been no Yugoslav public opinion surveys, but Niko Tos is still around. Slovenian public opinion is a small wonder among the research projects in the social sciences, since it has been surveyed more or less continuously since 1968. No one any longer gathers such time series of scientifically verified information for monitoring the development of our society except the statistical bureaus.

Let us take the proposal for doing required military service in civilian life, which aroused the sharpest reactions from official quarters, Dr Tos said in an interview with NIN about the most recent trends in Slovenian political public opinion. "The number of individuals surveyed who support this idea as a possibility for those individuals whose convictions do not allow them to do military service in armed units is not negligible. As a matter of fact, this is the opinion of a majority of those who made a choice on this subject (44.9 as against 33.8 percent who favor the present method).

"If we are to properly understand the commitment of our young people with respect to realizing this possibility, we should look at the phenomenon of defense awareness and the country's defense as a moral value in Slovenian society in general. It seems to some people that Slovenes do not have a highly developed awareness in this area or that they express their attitude toward the army, defense of the country, and indeed even toward freedom itself differently from others. It seems as though the Slovenes are restrained and in a way passive concerning this group of values. However, our surveys and of course history itself," Dr Tos says, "offer the opposite picture. The phenomena of freedom, the homeland, and defense of the country are at the heart of the moral values of all strata of society, young people in particular. Measured in terms of the greatest willingness to sacrifice, when a person is able to sacrifice even his life for certain ideals, defense of the country can be compared only to sacrificing oneself for his loved ones (44.1 percent as against 55.0 percent)."

Critical Attitude and Alternatives

"Accordingly, commitment to the possibility of the military service requirement being met by civilian service does not signify a negative attitude toward the armed forces, defense, and freedom, but on the contrary--in the Slovenian cultural and historical context it can be seen as an attempt toward creative development of our concept of nationwide defense," Dr Niko Tos concludes. "Much the same is true of the attitude toward social movements (see the box), toward the death penalty, toward verbal crimes, or construction of nuclear power plants and other forms of threat to the environment. These are ideas which are circulating freely at the present level of democratization of social relations without danger of jeopardizing the fundamental values of the integrity of Yugoslavia, self-management socialism, and nonalignment," Dr Tos said.

If certain results need to be singled out as specifically new in this year's poll, then the principal author of this collective research project done by the Ljubljana Center for Public Opinion Research and Mass Communications, Dr Niko Tos, would choose the "prevalent critical attitude" of individuals toward the institutions and functioning of the political system in the context of the profound crisis, which is more pronounced this year in public opinion than it was earlier. Incidentally, Dr Tos does not think that this is anything specific to Slovenian public opinion within the political space of Yugoslavia.

But now something altogether new is being noticed. Now there are more people who see and emphasize various alternative possibilities for getting out of the

crisis, resources which have not been activated, and potential for change which has not been taken advantage of. One illustration might be the favorable evaluation of various new forms of involvement of individuals and groups on their own initiative, which has already been mentioned and which are seen as elements of the system of socialist self-management, even though they have not been institutionally incorporated into the rather neglected organizational forms. A high willingness was also displayed for personal involvement in such movements (2.8 percent are already participating, and another 44.5 percent are willing to participate).

Perhaps a still more significant illustration of this trend in "crisis opinion" is the linkage of pronounced disappointment with the present system of distribution and work incentives to the willingness to abandon certain constraints which have been "set up in the late thirties and which are supposed to function even in the eighties." The reference here is to the dogmatic attitude toward self-employment of individuals, Dr Tos says. Is the position that this kind of work has no social value? Yet we have seen how work has traveled spontaneously into the nonsocialized sector because no value was placed upon it in the socialized sector.

The answers to questions about distribution according to work and the factors of advancement in the workplace (see the boxes) contain a serious warning according to pollster Tos. If the percentage of those who do not believe that you are paid better for better work has increased from 49.4 to 71.8 percent since "way back" in 1980, then the crisis has considerably intensified a tendency which was dominant even 6 years ago.

One cannot speak in that kind of context about mobilizing the work potential of the working people as a realistic way of getting out of the crisis. Especially when other factors for mobilization are also markedly negative, and when such characteristics as "connections, who you know, and friends in high places," "membership in the League of Communists," and "pushiness, unscrupulousness, and careerism" (the first and the third are twice as strong now as they were 6 years ago when the crisis was on the horizon) are seen as having the greatest impact on advancement in the workplace.

Today the crisis is an acknowledged state of affairs in the economy, politics, and many other spheres of the life of society, and the period of several years of "unsuccessful efforts" of an organized society to get out of the crisis is behind us. People reflect that unsuccessfulness in their immediate environments, in the workplace, and where they live. But at the same time the responses given this year also suggest a constructive turn toward certain new forms that would restore more initiative, creativity, and carefulness to work. Thus the way to overcome the crisis more rapidly is seen in "faster development of the private sector" in agriculture (49.9 percent), in the service crafts and trades (49.2 percent), in hostelry and small boardinghouses (44.5 percent), in the productive crafts and trades (32.0 percent), in transportation (27.9 percent), in small industrial plants (29.9 percent), and in the hotel business (16.2 percent). Almost all these figures are higher now than in previous years.

About the Public for the Public

Only the attitude toward the maximum landholding has been constantly critical at the same level of a two-thirds majority of those who do not see its justifiability, except in the first poll, in 1968 (51.0 percent), and in the poll taken in 1980 (43.5 percent), which was done immediately after the death of President Tito and yielded characteristically "distorted" responses resulting from the tenseness of the situation at that time.

These surveys have become a kind of phenomenon of Slovenian political culture, one that has been present and has thereby been influential even when it has had no direct effect on day-to-day politics.

The continuity of polling has not been maintained at the Yugoslav level as it has in Slovenia, and one cannot speak about its true impact in the public either. As a matter of fact, one might rather say that the principal effect of these surveys has been decisive for the surveys themselves--most of them have died out; that is, they were extinguished because they lost financial support from the SIZ's for scientific work. Thus it became known quite recently that the funds had dried up for public opinion surveys in Skopje and Belgrade, which along with Ljubljana had been the only remaining polling centers of this kind in Yugoslavia, but there has been no official appeal whatsoever from those who are threatened. In Ljubljana, on the contrary, people immediately react, as is the case at the moment with the Pedagogic Institute and Center for Study of Self-Management associated with the trade unions (which NIN has already written about). This center's scientific council did not support the decision of the trade union, and the center still exists.

This topic of Yugoslav scientific solidarity recalls yet another interesting result in the opinion survey "Slovenian Public Opinion in 1986," Niko Tos says. These are the answers to the question of the future of economic relations between the more advanced and less advanced parts of our Federation (see the box). Here there has been a noticeable shift of emphasis in the Slovenian view of relations in the Federation from a strongly pronounced "particularism" in 1968, by way of an "altruism" brought about by the situation in 1980, to the present dominant "solidarity." The particularist variant has today dropped to half of what it was in 1968.

"I think that these answers can encourage some new thinking about how Slovenes look upon the Federation as a whole and not just the less developed south," Dr Tos concludes. This is one of those constructive reflections of Yugoslav community spirit which is characterized by this year's Slovenian public opinion, and it moreover pertains to the exceedingly delicate question of resources.

[Box, p 12]

Advancement in the Workplace

"In our country which of the following characteristics help a man to get ahead in the workplace?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Total Influence*</u>	
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>
Output	17.0	11.9
Knowledge, creativity	22.8	16.4
Pushiness, unscrupulousness, careerism	10.4	21.9
Activity in the bodies of self-management and in socio-political organizations	16.0	16.2
Experience, age, length of service	12.1	10.9
Obedience, docility	7.2	9.9
Connections, who you know, friends in high places	21.9	44.5
Past accomplishments	7.1	11.9
Membership in the League of Communists	--	23.6
Nationality	--	4.8

* To make the table easier to read, we have omitted the other answers ("some influence," "sometimes," and so on).

Distribution According to Work

"Is remuneration in our country so arranged that the person who works more is actually better paid, or not? Evaluate on the basis of your own experience and the experience of those close to you!"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>
That is altogether the way it is	8.3	3.2
That is by and large the way it is	28.5	17.4
By and large it is not that way	40.7	43.5
It is not that way at all	8.7	28.3
I do not know, I am undecided	13.8	7.5

[Box, p 13, top]

Advanced and Less Developed Republics

"How in your opinion should socioeconomic relations between the advanced and less developed republics in Yugoslavia develop in the future?"

<u>Answer</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>
The less developed republics and provinces should THEMSELVES worry about their own future development	35.9	3.8	16.5

[Box, p 13, top (continued)]

<u>Answer</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>
This should primarily be the concern of the entire Yugoslav community, especially the advanced republics	10.8	40.6	18.2
The less advanced republics should do something for themselves, but the Yugoslav community should help them in this	44.0	46.3	56.5
I do not know, I am undecided	9.2	9.3	8.8

[Box, p 13, bottom]

New Social Movements

"Various social movements have been emerging and developing in recent years in Slovenia (the ecological movement, the peace movement, the movement for protection of natural and cultural values). Have you heard anything about that? If you have, what place should such movements have in our society?"

Answer

They should operate spontaneously and independently of sociopolitical organizations	25.3
They should operate independently, but within the framework of the SAWP	30.6
There is no need for independent organization; we have the SAWP for that purpose	3.8
Something else	0.8
I do not know what place such movements should have	15.6
Still have not heard of such movements	23.9

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SOCIOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN TREATMENT OF CANCER

Cancer Registry, Statistics Sketched

East Berlin WOCHENPOST in German Vol 32 No 23, 6 Jun 86 (signed to press 1 Jun 86) p 8

[Article by Gert Lange: "Registration Aids Decision Making"]

[Text] Among the female population of many large cities in the GDR, lung cancer occurs substantially more often than the national average. Tumors of the respiratory system are in ninth place in the sequence of the most frequent cancers of women. In contrast, they occupy fourth place in Berlin, for example. Experts attribute this trend to the higher consumption of cigarettes by women and girls in the cities and especially to the early beginning of smoking--even by school-age girls.

Both in regard to a special type of cancer as well as to the overall situation, the GDR can depend on very reliable data that are recorded in the National Cancer Registry. It is the largest of its type in the world that relates to the relevant population groups. All cases of cancer reported by the district [Kreis] treatment centers for patients with tumors are registered in the Central Institute for Cancer Research by means of computer. In the GDR there has been a legal duty to report these illnesses since 1952.

Attempts to register malignant tumors statistically date back to the 18th century. But they remained exceptions that meant little because of the inadequate knowledge of the time. Regional cancer registries came into being much later--in Hamburg in 1929 and in Connecticut (USA) in 1935, for example. Nowadays there are attempts to establish registries that cover the entire population of a country. The first of this type came into being in 1942 in Denmark.

It is thereby by no means just a clerical registration. The National Cancer Registry of the GDR represents an important basis for decisions by state administrative entities as well as for research itself. With the help of the registry, it is possible, for example, to make an objective evaluation of the effectiveness of certain methods of early-detection and treatment or of the

utility of measures in public relations work. Through comparative research, epidemiological research seeks to identify the causes for the development of tumors.

From 1953 to date, the National Cancer Registry of the GDR recorded data on more than 1.5 million patients. The number of new cases of cancer reported increased from 38,000 in 1953 to about 55,000 in 1976, when the highest level to date was reached. Since 1978, the number of new malignant tumors registered annually has remained constant at around 52,000 cases.

According to an estimate by the World Health Organization, there were about 37 million persons on earth suffering from cancer in 1982. During that year, 5 million people died of cancer and there were 8 million new cases. The increase in the incidence of cancer does not mean that the risk of contracting cancer has increased in like manner. There are experts who are willing to state that the risks in the respective age groups have remained the same over the time that we can survey.

The increase in the incidence of cancer is probably caused mainly by the greater life expectancy. The statistics of the GDR show that about 60 percent of all malignant neoplasms affect the group of those over 65 years of age. The better cancer diagnosis now possible in part simulates an increase in the incidence of cancer, whereas in reality cases are now recorded that in the past would have gone undetected for various reasons.

The prospects of a cure depend upon the timely diagnosis, the subsequent therapy and tumor localization. Individually, they differ widely. There are, for example, skin cancers that are now more than 90 percent curable in the long term and there are others with an extremely malignant course. Unfortunately, it is precisely certain frequently occurring tumor types such as lung cancer that have low chances of being cured. They are still less than 10 percent in all countries. On the other hand, more than 50 percent of the patients contracting cervical uterine or breast cancer can be released to post treatment as cured. Stomach and cervical uterine cancers are declining and that is also a general trend, at least for Europe. But lung cancer is increasing in close interaction with smoking.

For some types of tumors--in the cases of cancer of the prostate gland and testicular tumors, for example--improvements of 5 to 10 percent in the survival rate were achieved in the last 15 years in the GDR. Experts are counting on gradually improving chances for cures through the year 2000, which will probably result mainly from the fact that improvements continue to be made in the previously known methods of treatment. So what may sound pessimistic has quite positive aspects. It is not expected that there will be an increase in the percentage of cancer cases that result in death. The improvements in therapy mean many additional years of life. It cannot be ruled out that scientific-technical progress will even exceed the forecasts.

Radiation Therapy Planning System

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER KLINISCHE MEDIZIN in German No 7, Apr 86 pp 513-514

[Article by S. Matschke: "The Radiation Planning System 'Robotron DOPSY' for the Optimization of Radiation Therapy"; from the Central Institute for Cancer Research (director: Prof Dr Tanneberger), Berlin-Buch of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR]

[Excerpt] Summary

A radiation planning system for radiation therapy was developed in cooperation with institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, the Radiological Clinic in Schwerin and the VEB Robotron Combine. With this system, it is possible to calculate the individual distribution of the dose of ionizing radiation in the patient for all types of radiation and radiation techniques. The advantages of modern radiation equipment can thus be utilized for the patient to a substantially greater extent.

Technical words: radiation therapy, radiation planning, isodose determination, optimization, microcomputer technology

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Radiation therapy is one of the most important measures in the battle against cancer; it affects a very large part of the population and must be employed at the latest level of knowledge and with all technical possibilities if it is to be successful. Radiation therapy is successful when it destroys all possible tumor cells and simultaneously spares most of the normal cells surrounding the tumor. A precondition for this is radiation planning.

Radiation planning is the determination of all parameters that influence the success of the radiation therapy.

Knowledge of the dose distribution prior to the start of radiation therapy is the most important precondition for the radiation planning. In the utilization of up-to-date radiation therapy systems (linear accelerators, for example), the necessity of calculating the dose distribution is a result of the advantages that these systems offer. The advantages are essentially in masking the high-energy radiation almost at will and in aiming it at the tumor under different angles; in this way, it is possible to modulate the dose distribution. Since the dose distribution is influenced by the patient configuration, this must be considered in the calculation. That means that the external dimensions of the patient, the position of the tumor, and the extension of various organs with their different densities must be covered.

The goal is to carry out individual radiation planning for every patient, in which, besides the parameters of the radiation apparatus and the data for the radiation technology, the individual topometric relationships of the patient are also considered in the radiation field.

A standardization of the radiation planning would in many cases lead to a radiation that is not optimum for the patient. For the individual optimization of the radiation, however, a good deal more data must be taken into consideration than in standardized radiation. With this quantity of data, the dose distribution can be determined only with special data processing systems if it is to be performed in the available time.

The central unit of such a system must satisfy the necessary requirements, the periphery must be adapted to the special problems, and the computing program must meet the needs of modern radiation therapy.

The Central Institute for Cancer Research of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR recognized years ago the advantages of individual radiation planning and dealt with the related problems. Since there were no special computers available for this task, computing programs had to be developed for different large computers. The experience gained in this permitted us to make an objectively well-founded judgment of the advantages of the individual optimized radiation planning. It was therefore also possible to make specific specifications for the development of a computer-aided radiation planning system.

Proceeding from these experiences and from the experiences of the Center for research and Technology of the VEB Robotron Combine, we, together with the computer center of the Institute for Molecular Biology of the Academy of Sciences and the Radiological Clinic of the Schwerin district hospital, developed an interactive radiation planning system called "robotron DOPSY."

To develop and produce this system, it was necessary for a time to delegate experienced personnel from the academic institutes to the Center for Research and Technology of the VEB Robotron Combine as well as personnel from the Robotron Center for Research and Technology to the Central Institute for Cancer Research. Through an unconventional work organization, it was possible in a relatively short time to develop the special peripheral equipment, work out the computing programs, test them and make them available for use as a system solution.

The solution thereby had to take into consideration the requirements of practical application. That is, it had to be a solution that could be applied for highly skilled medical care as well as for demanding research tasks. It was therefore necessary for the data input to be possible through up-to-date computer tomographers by means of diskettes on the one hand, and with a digitized table on the other hand.

A decisive advantage of special computer-aided radiation planning systems against general large-scale data processing plants is in the constant access and thus in the possibility of varying dose distributions so as to come to an optimum solution. For the visual optimization of the dose distribution, an

intermediate display of the computing results, that is, the dose distribution for the patient cross section, must be possible on a color monitor.

As the basis for performing the radiation and as a document, the optimum variant of the dose distribution must be issued as a hard copy.

In just 2 years of development, it was possible to create a system that was awarded the gold medal of the Leipzig fair in 1982.

The system was further improved; in its current configuration, it is composed of the K 1630 microcomputer with the special peripheral equipment that meets all of the requirements for data input and output. The advanced computing programs represent peak international performance and permit the calculation of the dose and dose distribution for all radiation types and radiation techniques employed in radiation therapy.

Thus it also makes possible the optimization of the dose distribution for quantum radiation and for the radiation of fast electrons, fast neutrons and any implanted isotopes, even in combination with other radiation techniques. An advantage of the programs is in the display in any desired body level of the dose distribution and absolute dose that arises in the combination of several radiation techniques. One must thereby consider the extension and shape of the tumor, the different densities of the tissues, and the measurements of the patient. In the case of extensive tumors, this display in various levels is especially important so as to recognize dose shortfalls in the tumor or excess doses in normal tissue.

Before applying the radiation to the patient, the therapist has the possibility of knowing the individual dose distribution and of estimating the effect of the radiation on normal tissue and tumors; in this way, he is in a position to consider the radiation risk for the chosen radiation.

Help is thereby provided by special programs that consider that the effect of the radiation is a complex function of the dose.

In the case of different fractions, the dose can be calculated back to a "nominal-standard-dose" through formalized empirical values for the radiation effect. In this way, it is possible to estimate in a first approximation the temporal effect of the dose--the dose-time problem. The knowledge of the dose distribution thereby also remains a basis for further scientific work in the area of radiation therapy. The data available in the computer on the applied dose and dose distribution of the radiation for each patient are necessary to obtain information on the radiation effect.

The essential advantage of the consistent application of a radiation planning system can be seen in employing the technical possibilities of the radiation apparatus for the benefit of the patient and with no enhanced risk so as to achieve better results.

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SOCIOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT SHIFTS ANTICIPATED--According to statements from East Berlin's Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs, there will be extensive shifts in university and technical school admissions profiles in the coming years in the GDR. This will affect the admissions quota of roughly 23 percent of a given age group, which was set by the SED leadership in 1982, less than it will the distribution of enrollments in individual disciplines. More student slots are to be allocated primarily to technical sciences such as machinery construction, electronics and electrical engineering, computer sciences, materials technology and manufacturing technology, as well as to the economic sciences. The same trend will hold for university level research, which will be primarily concerned with the researching and application of "key technologies," and which will thus "sight in on the forefront of international scientific development." According to the ministry, these demands are to be met using research capacity which remains basically unchanged. Restructuring of staffing plans to favor research in the natural sciences and technical fields and reductions in certain other research specialties are thus "unavoidable." In 1984--more recent figures are not available--a scant 39,000 students were admitted to technical colleges and 26,400 to full time university study in the GDR. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 126, 16 Aug 86 p 2] /6091

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SOCIOLOGY

HUNGARY

DIVORCE, FAMILY PROTECTION LAWS TIGHTENED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by Lenke Elek: "They Are Changing the Family Rights Law"]

[Text] At the leadership meeting of the National Council of Hungarian Women, presided over by Mrs Lajos Duschek, Dr Gyula Borics, state secretary for justice, gave a briefing on the guiding principles involved in modifying the family rights law. As a second point on the agenda, the Council's leadership discussed a survey measuring the situation of consumer services.

For years now we have been able to measure statistically the loosening of family ties. Between 1974 and 1978 the number of marriages declined by 25 percent, while the number of divorces grew from 24,517 to 28,711. This touched the lives of nearly 30,000 minor children. In 13 percent of families, only one parent lives with the children. The living conditions of divorced parents are becoming increasingly difficult, thus their chances for remarriage are also decreasing. Instead of marriage, many people choose to cohabit with each other. Present legal practices have much to do with these factors. Therefore, it became necessary to modify the family rights law in order to create a closer relationship between social phenomena and demands on the one hand, and legal regulations on the other.

Faithful to its traditions, the National Council of Hungarian Women was the first to participate in discussions leading up to the modification of the law. In her introductory remarks, the president, Mrs Lajos Duschek, warned the audience that the basic principles of the modification must be prepared in such a manner that when it reaches the National Assembly, the deputies be able to see clearly all points involved.

Augmenting the written proposal submitted to the Council earlier, state secretary for justice Dr Gyula Borics stated that there were several factors calling for modification of the family rights law and its accompanying decrees. During the past 14 years the number of divorces per 1,000 inhabitants rose from 2.2 to 2.7, and the 27,711 divorces granted in 1984 touched the lives of 29,932 minor children. Fewer people are getting married, and the desire to re-marry has also abated. In 1985 there were nearly half a million divorced people in the country, including 120,000 women who were still of childbearing age. The changes brought about by divorces bring abrupt and

long-lasting transformations to children's lives. This is proven by statistics, according to which more than 40 percent of youthful criminals were raised by single parents or grew up without parents. But divorces are traumatic even for adults: four times as many male criminals are divorced as those living in family units. The number of women criminals is much higher among the divorced than among the married. There is a well-known connection between alcoholism and the break-up of marriages. Among men committing suicide, the number of those divorced is twice as high as the number of those married; at the same time, more divorced men than women kill themselves.

Plans call for drafting the basic modification principles in nine categories. For example, in the interest of curtailing hasty and irresponsible marriages and divorces, they have raised the minimum age for the marriage of women from 16 to 18 years; those younger than this can only be married with the specific permission of a court of guardians. According to the proposal modifying the law, in the future the courts will get more opportunities to save marriages. During the divorce proceedings, the court may impose a reconciliation period lasting from thirty days to six months.

There is a desire to make more stringent the conditions for mutual consent divorces by allowing these to take place only if the marriage partners have not lived together for an extended period of time and have come to terms in all relevant questions, including financial matters, in conjunction with their family life. However, agreements concerning the distribution of joint property cannot become the means through which one party exploits or blackmails the other. The agreement made in conjunction with the placement of the child and child support may be modified if circumstances change.

Regulations pertaining to the financial standing of the marriage partners--according to which the wealth accumulated while living together as marriage partners becomes joint property, regardless of which marriage partner acquired it--have essentially proven themselves. Based on experience, however, it is reasonable that those intending to marry should be allowed to make alternative arrangements with regard to financial questions. That is why they are planning to introduce the practice of property contracts between spouses.

According to present regulations, the marriage partner automatically becomes a co-tenant by simply entering marriage, and by moving into the rented dwelling unit. This often causes an unfair disadvantage for the marriage partner who already had a dwelling prior to the marriage and had made serious financial sacrifice to acquire it. Therefore, it must be made possible for those intending to marry to come to a prior agreement with regard to the disposition of the dwelling which one spouse had prior to the marriage in the case of a divorce.

The present regulations pertaining to the use of the former joint domicile--in the case of divorce--often create an unfair situation for the spouse who has lost domicile rights and whom the court has ordered to vacate the dwelling. Therefore, a regulation must be developed which compels the marriage partner remaining in the dwelling to make active financial contribution to the solution of the housing situation for both spouses. However, this cannot

result in the creation of serious financial situation through no fault of his/her own for the spouse remaining in the dwelling with children.

It is in the basic interest of children to maintain active contact with both parents following the divorce. Generally the court chooses between two parents who are equally suitable for raising the child. Often, however, the division of rights and responsibilities of divorced parents are disproportionate. The state secretary said, "There are justifications for expanding this regulation so that it completely denies the right of supervision to a parent who has demonstrated unsuitable and seriously negligent behavior for raising a child, at the same time adding to the rights of a parent living separately from his/her child--while preventing the opportunity for abuse.

In the future, parental agreement shall be the guiding principle for establishing the extent of child support and the way in which it is paid, and the established sum must satisfy the actual needs of the child. It is justifiable to maintain the percentage type of determination, and in the interest of fairer and more flexible judgment--according to the proposal--15-25 percent of the income of the obligant must be stipulated in the case of one child. The basis for determining the amount of the support payment will be the income acquired in the primary work place.

Regulations pertaining to adoption are more diverse, and in several cases they contradict each other. It is necessary to strive for the simplification of the adoption procedure. If a modification of the procedure for placing children in state custody means the cessation of supervisory rights by the natural parents, there will be the opportunity for immediate adoption of the concerned children.

A lively discussion followed the speech by the state secretary.

It was three years ago that the committee dealing with consumer affairs, attached to the National Council of Hungarian Women, was formed and it immediately began gathering information. Members of the committee placed primary emphasis on the smaller communities, since it is commonly known that the situation with regard to the availability of goods and services is poorer there than in larger settlements. We can read in the summary material presented to the National Council of Hungarian Women that out of a total of 44 settlements, they determined that in 30 the supply of the most basic foodstuffs was good, in 9 it was acceptable, and in 5 it was poor; Dr Rozsa Turza (wife of Dr Istvan Santa), department head of the National Technical Development Committee and the head of the committee dealing with consumer affairs supplemented the report with oral comments.

It is discouraging that, even though supply has been increased with the appearance of oven-ready and quick-serve products and baby foods, these are expensive and families are unable to purchase them regularly. Unfortunately, the prices of those products which represent the basis for a healthy diet are also gradually increasing. In the communities under discussion, there were specific mentions of the meat-supply. It was considered good in only 6 cities out of the 44 communities surveyed, and in a village where the local

cooperative operated its own butcher-shop. "The meats are too fatty, and the store managers often have to choose between a shortage of goods or meat which is not quite of the prescribed quality," determined the speaker. It is also a matter of financial concern for the locals that the cheaper cuts of meat have disappeared from the markets of the countryside.

In order to improve the supply of vegetables and fruit, and to reduce prices, some of the counties opened wholesale markets. With the exception of Szolnok County, this was not an universal success. Nor can we feel the effects of regulations prohibiting the operation of middlemen.

This was followed by a long listing of shortage items. Among the seldom-seen "familiar" names, we encountered children's shoes, especially in sizes 22-30, the less expensive items, and comfortable shoes. And, of course, a good many appliances, although their supply improved last year. It must be mentioned that families consider the price of children's shoes and clothes too high. At the same time, quality is not improving, what is more, in the case of shoes it is deteriorating. Since 1981 the price of children's shoes rose by 45.9 percent, and that of children's outer garments by 45.6 percent. And as long as we are talking about rising prices, it is worth scanning the following list which may provide edifying comparisons: In 1970 boneless pork cost 39 forints a kilogram, in 1984 the same thing cost 110 forints. In fourteen years the price of winter salami went from 100 to 260 forints a kilogram. The price of rice jumped from 16 to 32, of bread from 3.60 to 12, of sugar from 9.80 to 25, of luncheon meat from 36 to 70 per kilogram.

The rate of price increase is similarly great in the case of industrial goods: the pair of men's shoes that used to cost 241 forints in 1970, now costs 741 forints. In the case of women's shoes the price increased from 182 to 644! Briquettes went from 51 to 207 forints, and a three-door wardrobe costs twice what it used to. Among services, sewing jumped the highest: instead of 674 forints, the tailoring of a regular-sized men's sports-coat now costs 1,426 forints. Naturally, the income of families has also risen in the meanwhile--but whether or not at the same rate is questionable.

It is a serious worry that people living in the villages are unable to use much of the services, because--for example--32 of the 44 surveyed communities (two of them designated as towns) do not have shoe-repair shops, and only 26 communities have dry cleaning facilities. Only 27 of the 44 communities have facilities for the repair of communication equipment and appliances. Organizational modernization has not brought better service, the small enterprises have more difficulty acquiring supplies than before, and the availability of spare parts has uniformly deteriorated. It takes longer to make repairs, and there are more illegal repairmen, who are cheaper and quicker. At the same time, people are more likely to have their appliances fixed, because not all of them are able to purchase new ones.

The presentation of the second point of the meeting was also followed by a lively debate.

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